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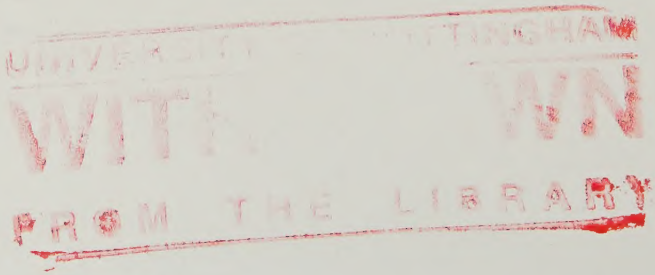

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The Scottish Text Society

JOHANNES DE IRLANDIA'S

Meroure of Wyſsdome

The Meroure of Wyſsdome

COMPOSED FOR THE USE OF

James IV., King of Scots

A.D. 1490

BY

JOHANNES DE IRLANDIA

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

BOOKS VI and VII

EDITED BY

CRAIG McDONALD

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PREFACE

ALTHOUGH my name will appear as editor of this work, it has in fact many contributors; and I wish here to acknowledge their invaluable aid.

First, the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland for permitting me to edit the manuscript and for their gracious and prompt aid in supplying me with a copy on microfilm and in granting me access to the manuscript itself.

The Aberdeen University Library for supplying me with a microfilm of Ireland's commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.

My several student helpers – Janet Mackenzie, Betty Pruner, Rachel Laws, and Eline Vieira –who laboriously but patiently typed and compiled a glossary in a language they barely understood.

Another student, Nat Tunnell, for persistent encouragement.

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My parents, John and Aileen McDonald, whose interest and encouragement has sustained me through many dark moments.

Kate and Seth, my children, who have grown up with

the edition and who have not begrudged too terribly much the time their father has spent on his third child.

My longsuffering wife, Karen, who by working helped to support my research during the summer, and who, by calling me to household chores, helped to keep my academic life in perspective.

To each of these people, I am heartily and humbly grateful.

I must single out one person for special mention. That is Professor James Burns. The greatest pleasure I have received in editing the *Meroure* is making his acquaintance. Had he not so generously imparted to me his intimate knowledge of Ireland and things Scottish and medieval, my notes would have been much the poorer. He patiently encouraged me to complete the edition, when completion must have seemed to him distant, if not hopeless. But more importantly, he has graced my life by his gentlemanly dignity, his humility, his collegiality, and his mastery of the art of teaching. I would, therefore, like to invoke my privilege as editor by dedicating this volume to him.

INTRODUCTION

With this instalment, the editing of the *Meroure of Wyssdome* is complete.[1] It is fitting that the event, over seventy years in the process, takes place this year, the fifth centenary of the composition. Despite its erratic and lengthy publishing history,[2] the *Meroure*, along with its author, John Ireland, has begun to attract a growing scholarly attention, beginning with James Burns' seminal article on Ireland's life and thought in the *Innes Review* in 1955.[3] Since then, articles on the *Meroure* have taken various turns. Brother Bonaventure Miner investigated the Ireland's 'popular' theology.[4] Quinn, after recounting events in Ireland's career, compared the style of the *Meroure* with that of other fifteenth-century prose pieces in Middle Scots.[5] My own interest has been in the sources and analogues of the seventh book, notably *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* and Chaucer's 'Melibee',[6] an interest stimulated and greatly augmented by the unpublished work of both David Brown and R. J. Lyall and by the political studies of Roger Mason and Sally Mapstone, who have set the work within literary and political contexts.[7] Professor Burns has yet another article in the making, considering anew some thorny biographical issues and trying to identify more precisely Ireland's philosophical and theological disposition.[8] The accessibility of the last two books of the *Meroure* should serve only to increase the intensity of these studies as scholars re-examine the political, theological, and social milieu of fifteenth-century Scotland.

Book 6 The Sacraments

In the 'Argument' to the *Meroure of Wyssdome*, John Ireland sets forth his primary intention in the work: to

outline the 'A.B.C. of cristianite'.[9] With the sixth book a treatise on the seven sacraments—he realizes that intention.

Two introductory chapters broach the subject of sacramental theology; the rest of the book explains the sacraments in turn, following the traditional order of Peter Lombard in Book 4 of the *Sentences*.[10] Although Ireland might devote several chapters to a single sacrament, his principle of organization in each case is essentially the same: first, a description of the sacrament by its analogy to some temporal experience; second, a consideration of the matter—the outward physical act of the sacrament or the object through which the grace is administered—and the form, or accompanying words; third, an enumeration of the fruits, virtues, or benefits of the sacrament; and, finally, the refutation of those heresies that would distort a proper understanding of the sacrament.

To clarify his theology for the lay mind, Ireland relies on Aristotle's notion that the knowledge of the unseen and spiritual is derived from the visible.[11] Such an idea readily applies to the Christian faith because of the duality of Christ's person—his divinity and humanity—and also because of the duality of human existence which becomes operative at conception, when 'god be paccioun / and ordinaunce that he maid to natur sacretlie w[t]out ony peticioun or demand creatis þar and producis the saule in the body' (p. 3).

Thus, we can envision the sacraments as medicines designed to heal the effects of sin and weakness. The correlations might be diagrammed in this fashion:

Sin	*Healing Sacrament*
Original	Baptism
Venial	Extreme Unction
Mortal	Penance

Penalty (Deficiency, Weakness)	*Strengthening Sacrament*
Ignorance	Holy Orders
Desires of the Flesh	Marriage
Worldly affections	Eucharist
Infirmity to good	Confirmation (p. 6)[12]

Given these medicinal properties of the sacraments, Ireland then attempts to tie them (albeit some more loosely than others) to the Passion of Christ, the divine physician (pp. 7–8). Again, it might be simpler just to list the correspondences.

Baptism	water from the wounded side of Jesus
Eucharist	blood from His wounded side
Confirmation	strength to endure the cross of His free will
Penanace	Christ's tears which He shed for us
Unction	Blood from all parts of his body
Holy Orders	Christ as the priest as well as the Host

The only sacrament that does not fit easily into the pattern is marriage. Ireland simply contends that this is the means by which the Church is regenerated.

The analogical mind of the medieval scholastic had also associated the sacraments with those elements and stages in the individual's physical maturation. The first five concern the perfection of the individual. Seen in this light, baptism resembles birth; confirmation, growth (what Ireland terms 'augmentation'); the Eucharist, nutrition; and penance and extreme unction, restoration from sickness. The last two sacraments are the means for increasing Christians, both spiritually, through holy orders, and physically, through marriage (p. 7).[13]

Such analogies do not end with the introduction, and throughout the sixth book Ireland introduces and re-

introduces various equations relating this world and the next. Baptism, for example, is the marriage of Christ to the soul, which was previously the whore or concubine of the devil (p. 10). The oil of confirmation is an armorial banner which proclaims the bearer to be a knight of Jesus (p. 17). Turning to evil is as unthinkable as marrying an evil wife, wearing dirty clothes or shoes, allowing a wicked man into one's yard or into a position of responsibility in one's house, or, if a farmer, destroying a fruitful crop (pp. 71–72).

Likewise, Ireland justifies the formation of an ecclesiastical hierarchy on the basis of what we learn about rank from experience. We find evidence for this ordering of existence everywhere: in nature's chain of being, in man's vital powers (vegetative, sensitive, and intellective), in society (the three estates and their subcategories), and in the relation between the soul and the body (pp. 78–90).

Marriage, too, opens a sacramental window between spiritual and temporal reality. Relations between the man and the woman imitate and disclose truths about God's communion with the soul and the soul's union with the body. This interplay between the spiritual realm and the temporal, established in the first two chapters as the foundation for one's understanding of the sacraments, is developed exhaustively throughout the rest of the book in truly scholastic (and metaphysical) fashion.[14]

Matter, Forms, and Virtues

Much of what Ireland has to say about the sacraments themselves is straightforward enough and can be described quite simply. As Brother Bonaventure maintains, the theology of the *Meroure* is 'popular' and holds few surprises. This simplicity, as we might expect, contrasts with the complexity of his treatment of the same material in the commentary, where, for example,

the section on the Eucharist treats the reader to a course on medieval optics and physics. With a difference in purpose (that between training theological students and educating a nation of laymen and its king), Ireland has resorted to two entirely different approaches. In the commentary, he maps out the rockier (though by this time, well-inspected) sacramental terrain. The ground in the *Meroure* is gentler, the heresies, for the most part, less of a contemporary threat. Space and a certain diffidence to rush in at this stage of my acquaintance with the commentary forbid a thorough comparison of that work with the *Meroure*. But where I believe the commentary does afford valuable insight, I will allude to it. As I shall suggest later, the commentary proves most useful in matters of interpreting the *Meroure* that are non-sacramental in nature.

Baptism, c. 3 (pp. 9–13)

The matter of baptism, of course, is the water, which can be obtained from many sources (rain, hail, a loch), but which must be pure. It cannot be just any liquid, and Ireland lists some interesting, though forbidden substitutes: perfume, distilled water, urine, saliva, and sweat. The Scots vocabulary is graphic: 'spittin, suettin, stellit wateris'.[15] The form is the words '*Ego te baptizo in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen*'. In an emergency, anyone can administer the sacrament; and in fact it is incumbent upon a layman to baptize an unbaptized person. Such would be true of the midwife's responsibility to a dying infant. The fruits of the sacrament are five: the remission of original sin; the seven virtues (four cardinal and three heavenly) bestowed upon the Christian soul; the Christian character imprinted on the soul that distinguishes it from person of the world; remission of the penalty of sin; and the promise of an eternal inheritance.

perfection to Christ's own deity. Christ's body and blood he receives directly under the figure of the consecrated bread (since he may not drink the wine) *per concomitancium immediacem*; the soul of Christ, *per concomitancium propinquam*; and the divinity, *per concomitanciam remotam* (pp. 30–31).

The communicant can receive the sacrament in one of three ways: *spiritualiter*, *sacramentaliter*, and *tantum* (p. 40). One who wishes to partake of the sacrament, but is physically unable to is said to receive the sacrament *spiritualiter*. On the other hand, a Christian might actually eat the bread, but do so unworthily, by dwelling in a state of mortal sin. Such a person participates in the Eucharist *sacramentaliter*. One fully receives the sacrament *tantum* only when he comes properly disposed to the Lord's Table and physically partakes of the host.[19]

The fruits of this sacrament are six: the growth of grace in the communicant's life; the remission of venial sin; the remission of the penalty for sin, according to the devotion of the believer; defense from temptation; the strength to rise from sin once one has fallen into it; and the growth of heavenly beatitude (pp. 40–41).

Penance, cc. 8–11 (pp. 44–73)

The sacrament of penance entails turning to the immutable away from the mutable. The analogy here is the restoring of health to the body. Penance, then, like baptism, is spiritual medicine. But whereas baptism is a medicine for original sin and need be applied only once, penance is medicine for sins actually committed and must therefore be applied frequently (pp. 44–45). Ireland compares the first, the gentler of the two medicines, to a laxative, since it heals what was transmitted in the womb. The latter by necessity is more rigorous and violent and induces vomiting (pp. 48–49). Just as sin is committed manifestly, so satisfaction must be corporal; and although such satisfaction is painful, it is far easier

to bear than the pains of hell. The reader has his choice.

We might, at this point, consider Ireland's distinction between mortal and venial sins. He himself confesses that the distinction is subtle and complex, and for the sake of his lay audience he intends to speak 'groslie':

> and þis is a gret doctrine / I gif þe / for all doctouris / þat euir passit and has bene had gret difficulte to assigne / and put difference betuix deidly and venial syn / and anens the principale thing that is in the deidly syn that is auersioun fra god þar is na gret differens betuix þe deidlie synnis / *quia negatio vel priuatio proprie non suscipit magis aut minus* / this I say groslie to þe pepil / bot anens the conuersioun and plesaunce þat þe man or woman takis in the creaturis conuertand to þame / þar is gret diuersite betuix þe synnis (p. 54)

With this in mind, Ireland defines mortal sin as bearing two features: 'auersioun and contempcioun of god' through an act of the will; and 'vicious disposicioun and inclinacioun' (pp. 53–54). By contrast, the soul guilty of venial sin has loved the creature with an inordinate affection, while still loving and trusting in God (p. 54).[20] Penance can deliver the individual from the damnation of mortal sin, but does not destroy the disposition. The sacrament can only weaken the disposition (pp. 54–55). Thus, Ireland enjoins the Christian to partake of the Eucharist as well, so that his spiritual health might be restored and strengthened (pp. 55–56).

The invisible grace of penance is twofold—God's indulgence and his remission of sin. Man's response? His contrition and 'forthinking' (p. 46). The outward sign of this spiritual condition, the actual confession of sin, is the matter of the sacrament, and the priest's formal absolution with '*Ego absoluo te a peccatis tuis in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen*' is the form (pp. 46, 56). In this sacrament, too, we find a ladder of perfection; contrition of mind, confession of mouth, satisfaction in deed or purpose, and finally absolution (p. 47).

In chapter 11 Ireland lists inducements to penance, which are both positive and negative in character. The negative are fear of the justice of God, who will certainly punish sin, and of the certainty of death, yoked with the uncertainty of when we shall die. At the same time, we might be attracted to perform the sacrament by recognizing God's own love of the sacrament and His hatred of sin, by viewing the sacrament as a doorway to our knowledge of God, and by our willingness to partake in the passion of Christ.

Ireland's teaching on penance in the *Meroure* conforms to orthodox Catholic doctrine, and discussion of it occurs in the place where we would expect it to, as dictated by the order set forth in the *Sentences*. But it should be noted that the sacrament of penance occupies a venerable place in Ireland's theology. In his commentary, Ireland discusses it first, before his treatment of baptism and the Eucharist. In the *Meroure*, he alludes to a treatise on the subject that he had previously written in Scots, a treatise often been identified with a work in the Asloan MS.[21] Such regard for the sacrament is borne out in the *Meroure*. The first concerns sheer bulk. Discussion of the subject occupies nearly one third of a book devoted to all seven sacraments. Only the Eucharist receives comparable attention, and that around twenty-five percent. We also find Ireland moving from teacher to preacher, an imperative strain sounded with the indicative. The following passage strikes what might be called the normal tone of the work:

> And þarfor he þat will enschew eternale dampnacioun / and cum to glor and beatitud euirlestand suld blithlie ryn to þe sacrament of pennaunce / þat is þe spirituale medycyn & souueran remeid / and expell fra his saule and mynd þe capitale innemy of god his creator and ihesu his blissit redemptor (p. 71)

By introducing the second person familiar, as he frequently does, Ireland evokes a more intimate mood.

> And sene þou wauld nocht resaue nor susteyn þi cruell and mortale innemy in þi ȝard / in þi hous / in þi chawmer / na in nane of þi possessiounis / quhy wil þou resaue þi mortale innemy and als þe innemy of god þi creatur & ihesu þi redemptour / and of all the court of paradice / þat is deidly syn in the sacret chaumer of þi saule (p. 71)

In the following series of apostrophes, however, the character of his prose becomes more intense.

> O man repleit and fillit of all foly and wikitnes / quhow may þou cheris þe wikkit thef dedly syn / in þi hert mynd and curage / that is sa cruell and agan þe / and lauboris to bring þe to eternall dampnacioun / sene þou knawis weill þat for þe distruccioun of it / and for þi saluacioun help and suple be werray necessite and cherite / god of maieste tuk humanite / and deit on þe croce / þou will nocht haue ane euill govn / ane euill hois ane euill scho þou will nocht haue ane euill wif / na ane euill possessioun eftir þi will þi plesaunce and desyr And þou will haue ane euill saule conseruand syn mortale in it / þat þou suld luf our all creatur vnder god ... O bestlie man awis and consider in þi mynd ... O mortale man awis þe / consider þi self ... (pp. 72–3)

This is not the only time that the tone shifts to a higher register,[22] but the rarity of such passages would, perhaps, evince a concern of special urgency.

Extreme Unction, c. 12 (pp. 74–77)

Ireland's single chapter on extreme unction briefly explains the purpose of the sacrament as offering strength to pass from this life to purgatory or heaven. It can even lessen the rigours of purgatory by remitting venial sin. The matter of the sacrament is a mixture of oil and balm, the sweetness and clarity of which betokens the soul's pleasance before God. The form is '*Per istam vnccionem et suam piisimam misericordiam indulgeat tibi*

dominus quicquid deliquisti per visum et similiter in aliis partibus'.

Holy Orders, cc. 13–15 (pp. 78–94)

Whereas the first five sacraments minister to all Christians, the next two, ordination and marriage, bestow a special grace for special tasks. Since God has ordained that visible acts impart invisible grace, an actual priest must be available to administer the sacraments as a means of bearing spiritual fruit (p. 79). Whence the sacrament of holy orders. Ireland accords the ministers of the Church a special dignity by virtue of their position, though that dignity varies in degree according to their position on the ecclesiastical ladder. As in the sacraments of baptism and confirmation, the recipient is endowed with a special character; and it is this character, not his own person, that empowers him to administer grace to others (p. 81).[23] This is an important distinction, for by it Ireland argues against the heresies, namely the Wycliffite error, that would jeopardize the sacrament (pp. 84, 86). The form of the sacrament is *'Accipe potestatem offerendi sacramentum in ecclesia pro viuis & mortuis'* (p. 94).

The two primary operations of the priest are to consecrate and administer the other sacraments, a power shared equally by pope and priest alike, and to judge and absolve people of sin, a power dependent on the extent of jurisdiction (p. 91). It is the latter operation that distinguishes among the ranks of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The hierarchical structure in the Church is confirmed by Nature, which, according to Ireland and to all medieval theorists, for that matter, teaches that the whole world is organized by hierarchies. By the time Ireland is writing, the degrees of priesthood number seven: doorkeeper (*hostarius*), lector, exorcist, acolite, subdeacon, deacon, and priest (p. 88). All are distinguished by the tonsure, significant because it marks

the head, thereby symbolizing the dignity of the office. Beyond that, the Church, of course, has bishops, cardinals, and the pope; but Ireland argues that the essential power, even of the pope, is no greater than that of the ordinary priest. The difference lies in the extent of that power, i.e., the number and location of the people to whom that power is applied (pp. 91 92). The pope has the greatest jurisdiction; therefore, he is the highest priest.

Ireland deals with holy orders as a sacrament only briefly in his commentary. But as the son of a nation that had espoused conciliarist principles in the struggles between pope and council during the earlier part of the century, he nursed the embers of the movement, despite the papal ban '*Execrabilis*' (1460), by devoting a substantial portion of the proheme to his commentary on the fourth book.[24] To be sure, conciliarism, the doctrine of the general council's supreme ecclesiastical authority, is not at stake in the *Meroure*. But Ireland's conciliarist views, as expressed in the commentary and elsewhere, sharpen our impression of passages from the *Meroure* that define the spheres of authority for general councils and the pope, respectively.[25]

Ireland concludes this chapter on penance by reminding the king that the spiritual realm is clearly the more important of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, just as the soul is higher than the body; and he exhorts the king to remember noble princes and people of the past who have subjected themselves to the pope (pp. 93–94).

Marriage, cc. 16–17 (pp. 95–104)

With marriage Ireland concludes his treatment of the sacraments. This sacrament has a communal aspect and Ireland identifies three 'fraternities' to which we belong (or to which we need to be restored): the spiritual, by virtue of our creation in God's image; the carnal, by our

physical relation to Adam; and the Christian, by our baptism into the fellowship of Christ. By this point in the book we are not surprised to discover that all of these relationships are analogous, and Ireland traces for us the numerous ramifications. The union of the man and the woman signifies the union of the soul and the body, the soul and God, Christ and his humanity, and Christ and his Church. But perhaps analogous is too weak a term to describe the relationship between marriage and these other unions, because one senses that marriage not only signifies these, but in fact participates in them. Indeed, Ireland argues that marriage increases charity and unity, and (following St. Augustine in *De fide et operibus* 7) that it is marked by three dignities: *fides*, *proles*, *sacramentum* (namely, faith, offspring, and the sacrament). There is, of course, the more obvious goal of the sacrament, that being the production of children and the restraint from lust; but through marriage one's sexual desires are not simply given an outlet for release. God imparts grace (1) to love consistently one's spouse, whereas lust, once satiated, sometimes turn to dislike; and (2) to love only one spouse when the natural inclination might be to desire many partners. Again, Ireland does not identify precisely the form and matter of the sacrament, but simply states that the external signs are the words of the ceremony, the act of carnal union, and the inseparable band that unites the couple.

Heresies

One of Ireland's means of clarifying and indeed highlighting his teaching on the sacraments is to contrast it with heretical opinions. For the most part, these are appended to the end of his various discussions, with a brief description of the nature of the heresy and its refutation. Some of the heresies seem to pose little threat to a contemporary audience and Ireland perhaps includes these for the sake of illustration. Against the orthodox

doctrines of baptism we find the heresies of the Seleucians, a Gnostic sect that argued for a spiritual baptism only, thus vitiating the sacramental nature of the rite (p. 12).[26] With regard to marriage, Ireland denounces the ascetic opinions of John Cassian, the exalted notions of marriage proposed by Jovinian, and the communal conjugation advocated by Plato and by various sects (which Ireland does not name) throughout the Middle Ages (p. 103). Ireland would also lay to rest the spectre of Berengar of Tours, who had denied the Real Presence of Christ at the Eucharist (p. 42; cf. f. 223r. in the commentary).[27]

As to the position and power of the priest, Ireland points out that one of the 'errors' of the Eastern Church, notably that of Aerius (not to be confused with the more notorious Arius), had been to weaken the distinction between bishop and priest and had allowed priests as well as bishops to confirm (pp. 18, 94). To be sure, both possess the same type of power, a power coequal to that even of the pope, but there are degrees of dignities that the Greeks and Armenians have failed to appreciate. Ireland calls to his aid Richard Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, whose *Summa in questionibus Armenorum* (11.1–7) had clarified these issues.[28]

Other issues, however, pose a more immediate threat to Scotland. Pelagianism waged continual war against orthodoxy, and its recurrence in the Middle Ages along with the Donatism occupied the attentions of fifteenth-century theologians and thinkers.[29] Ireland is no exception. The issue at stake in both heresies was the nature and role of God's grace in the life of the believer.

Ireland had first voiced his opposition to the Pelagians in Book 5.4.[30] Here he refers us to two of his works, the one missing (*De auxilio speciali*), the other his surviving commentary on Book 3 of the *Sentences* (see especially ff. 64r.–67r., 90v–96v.). In the latter, he follows the lead of two fourteenth-century foes of the Pelagians, Bishop Thomas Bradwardine and Gregory of Rimini. Gordon

Leff, a student of the theological controversies of the period, discriminates between the true Augustinianism of Gregory and the more extreme views of Bradwardine as expressed in their definitions of man and the nature of his dependence on God before the Fall. Ireland, however, rarely mentions the one without the other and apparently is more interested in their points of similarity, namely, their views on the absolute dependence of man upon God after the Fall, in combating the Pelagian heresy.[31] The debate had its practical consequences. In Book 6, therefore, Ireland is obliged to defend the rite of baptism against the Pelagians' denial of original sin, which obviated the rite (pp. 12–13).

Donatism, whose concern had been keeping the Church free from the taint of restored apostates, proved fertile ground for the reforming work of someone like John Wycliffe.[32] The issue might be stated quite simply: Are the sacraments administered by a sinful or heretical priest efficacious? Ireland first addresses the heresy in his chapter on baptism. Though certainly a strong advocate of a holy priesthood, Ireland insists upon distinguishing between the priest's person and his office. Thus, he admonishes anyone, clerical or lay, to perform the rite of baptism in an emergency (p. 12). The debate seems to touch a nerve that finds its full expression in the chapters on holy orders. In fact, one senses that much of this section is shaped in response to a particular heresy: though one hundred years old, Wycliffite teaching is still present in Scotland (p. 86).[33]

Book 7 Sources

It was Mr. David Brown, formerly a student at the University of Glasgow, who first noted Ireland's indebtedness to the Paris conciliarists Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson; and following up Brown's suggestions, Dr. Roger Mason, Dr. Sally Mapstone, Dr. Rod Lyall, and I have

determined that nearly the whole of the seventh book is a compilation of material translated or borrowed directly from five of Gerson's French sermons: *Vivat Rex*, *Diligite justiciam*, *Veniat pax*, *Rex in sempiternum vive*, and *Adorabunt eum*.[34] Dr. Roger Mason, in correspondance with me, has outlined the borrowings as follows:[35]

c. 1 *Diligite iusticiam* (Gerson, *OC*, 7.598–615)
c. 2 *Vivat rex* (*OC* 7.1137–85); *Adorabunt eum* (*OC* 7.520 1 [Lyall])
c. 3 *Vivat rex* (*OC* 7.1150, 1160); *Veniat pax* (*OC* 7.1107, 1110–17); *Adorabunt eum* (*OC* 7.525–70 [Mapstone], 528–9 [McDonald])
c. 4 *Vivat rex* (*OC* 7.1155–67)
c. 5 *Vivat rex* (*OC* 7.1172–6). [Mason notes that the second half of the chapter (after p. 134) 'is apparently original though conventional enough. If there was a pre-1488 version of the *Meroure*, this very practical advice to James IV is presumably an afterthought'.]
c. 6 *Vivat rex* (*OC* 7.1168–70)
c. 8 *Rex in sempiternum vive* (*OC* 7.1011–14)

We might note that even when Ireland claims to be making a point personally, as in p. 157, where he writes 'ȝit I will mak a morale exposicioun... ', he sometimes borrows Gerson's authorial identity; Gerson in the parallel passage writes '*prenons*'. The ring of authenticity is twice more undercut (pp. 133, 156) and should warn us against attributing original passages to Ireland simply on the basis of the first person.

Gerson is not Ireland's only source. Elsewhere, I have suggested that Ireland also borrowed a substantial portion of the 'Tale of Melibee' in his ninth chapter;[36] and Sally Mapstone has argued quite convincingly that chapter 7 is nearly a point-by-point refutation of Marsilius of Padua's defense of royal election in *Defensor Pacis*.[37]

Based on these findings, we might be tempted to

dismiss the seventh book as a copy of earlier materials prepared for a Scottish audience. But this view misses the subtleties of Ireland's program of translation and redaction. Ireland interweaves his French sources quite freely, moving back and forth within a sermon or even between sermons, sometimes compressing, sometimes adding. This is all the more remarkable when Dr. Lyall reminds us that Gerson's French sermons do not survive together in a single manuscript. In other words, the seventh book is a research project into contemporary political thought, liberally sprinkled with Ireland's own observations and interpretations.

What Ireland leaves out, as well as what he adds, has wide-ranging implications. We see Ireland's literary interests and narrative skill by additions to and reworking of his French sources. And we will see below the effects of such changes on our interpretation of Ireland's political ideas.[38]

To sample Ireland's technique, we might turn to chapter 3, which Lyall terms 'the most compositionally complex' of the book.

Meroure	Gerson	Text
120	*Vivat Rex* (*OC* 7.1150)	the king's throne
120	*Vivat Rex* (*OC* 7.1160)	kings as pastors and fathers
121–3	*Adorabunt eum* (*OC* 7.525–7)	the four ports
	Vivat Rex (*OC* 7.1167)	additional examples of lust
123	*Adorabunt eum* (*OC* 7.528–9)	the conflict between the stomach and other members; the four daughters of love
124	*Vivat Rex* (*OC* 7.1145)	the naming of Athens [cf. *Veniat pax* (*OC* 7.1101)]
124	*Vivat Rex* (*OC* 7.1160)	Augustine on peace; Ahasuerus

125–6	*Veniat pax* (*OC* 7.1107, 1110–17)	the 12 benefits of peace

Another way in which we might illustrate the complexity of Ireland's borrowing is to take one of Gerson's sermons, *Vivat Rex*, for example, and to demonstrate the sequence of borrowing. Note the movement back and forth in Ireland's text.

Vivat Rex (*OC* 7)	*Meroure*
1139	116
1142	116–17
1144	115
1145	124
1145	117
1146	117
1149	116, 117–18
1150	120
1155–8	127–9
1159	112, 155
1160	120, 124
1161–2	130
1164	118
1165	113
1167	130–1, 121–2
1168–70	139–41
1172–6	132–5
1182	135

A study of the passages would reveal that even these correspondences are broad and that Ireland condenses and expands at will. Though conventional in nearly every aspect of his thought, he is firmly in control of his sources. His own text is nearly seamless.

The Meroure of Wyssdome as a *Regimen Principum*

James Burns describes Book 7 of the *Meroure*, in its origin conception, as an appendage to the rest of the treatise, whose tenor is 'overwhelmingly theological'.[39] To be sure, it differs from the other six in a way that the sixth, let us say, does not differ from the fifth. But there is a sense in which the seventh might be considered a practical working out of the previous six. This is especially true when we examine the '*Exordium*' and 'Argument and Dedication' of the *Meroure*.[40] The coherence of the *Meroure* resides in the single word 'wisdom'. A king needs wisdom in governing his realm and that true wisdom comes from God:[41]

> God, that is omnipotent, þocht he be of infynit power to gouerne the waurld, the hevin, the Erd, the angellis, the men and all creatur and to his power may nocht Er in regimen and gubernacioun, nevirtheles to gif kingis, lordis, and princis exempill hou þai suld reule and gouerne þar pepill committit to þame, his hie maieste gouernis nocht be strenth or force, bot with his power rewlit be wisdome, clemens, wertu, and beneuolence.[42]

A kingdom is but a microcosm of the universe;[43] and in this sense, all of the *Meroure* is a *regimen principum*, not just the seventh book.

One unifying feature of the *Meroure* is a terminology that expresses theological and legal concepts. In books 4.2 and 5.1[44] we see how the greatness of man over the other animals is derived from two attributes: reason and will. In the second passage Ireland further notes that the will should always conform to the reason, wherein it acknowledges the perfection of God. Thus, he prepares his reader for the discussion at the beginning of Book 7 about the nature of law, which embraces both will and reason and which, when it conforms to reason in the imitation of God, attains the stature of true justice. In

fact, as bread is the physical nourishment of man, so justice is his spiritual meat (1.9).[45] The inseparability of human law and divine (as the latter is expressed in natural law) may be seen in several ways. For one thing, human law (both civil and canon) ordains that the law of God be obeyed (3.1, 4.5).[46] Sin, a transgression of divine law, has immense consequences, for it disturbs the natural order, not only in man's own self, but also in nature, over which man is to exercise dominion. The sinful man thus 'offendis god his self and þe creaturis þat ar vnder him, for þe naturale ordour and iustice of þame he brekis' (5.1).[47] Inordinate desire for social prominence exemplifies such violence to the natural order (1.9),[48] and the disastrous results might be seen in the lives of Adam and Eve (4.9). Understood in this light, the judgeship of Christ (3.11; cf. 4.4) acts as a paradigm for the temporal administration of justice.[49] Similarly, the clause '*Inde venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuous*' from the Apostles' Creed (to which Ireland devotes Book 3) issues a clear invitation to discuss these legal implications.

Peace, one of the hallmarks of medieval political theory, appears in judicial robes under Ireland's direction. Ireland recalls the popular debate between the 'four daughters of God', in which Peace figures prominently to urge a reconciliation between God and man, their separation itself oftentimes cast in legal terms (2.10).[50] Furthermore, as Brother Bonaventure indicates, Ireland speaks of the peace restored not only between God and man but also amongst Christian peoples by means of the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist,[51] the two sacraments treated so extensively in the commentary to Book 4 of the *Sentences*. Likewise, mercy, an essential element of justice, tempers the judgments of God and Christ (3.*exordium*, 7, 14; 4.4).[52] She joins her sister Peace to assuage God's righteous anger (2.10).[53]

With justice, mercy, peace, and order firmly linked to the divine nature, Ireland devotes the first chapter of

Book 7, based on Gerson's *Diligite justiciam* to tracing the roots of human law in the soil of natural and divine law. Of all the chapters in this book, Ireland underscores this one as most important: 'This cheptur is lang in wourdis, gretar in sentens, and foundament of all that folowis' (p. 114). 'Foundament' though it may be to the rest of Book 7, this first chapter itself rests upon the bedrock of the previous six books.

Following Gerson, Ireland begins by defining justice as 'the will, ressoune, and ordinaunce of God' (p. 105). Human judgments participate in true justice to the extent that they conform to the divine will and reason.[54] The social agent of such conformity is, of course, the king, who, like the pope in the spiritual realm, acts as God's 'louetennand' in the secular.[55] So closely does Ireland associate the king with law that in assigning to each estate its corresponding cardinal virtue, he equates the king with justice (p. 158) and thus fuses the royal office and royal function. Ireland compares the king in this role as fountain of justice to Jesus, who is head of both the secular and sacred realms (p. 112), and who punishes or rewards as true judge (p. 136). Chapter 8 of the last book articulates clearly and simply the intimate relationship between human and divine kingship:

> Baith power and wisdome of the he and noble king of paradice reulis and gouernis the creaturis be wertu of beneuolens Tharfor we suld weill knaw and wnderstand þat þe noble king and prince terrene / þat is his louetennand in temporalite suld wse thir noble wertuis in gouernyng of his pepil (p. 155)

The king, therefore, imitates God in the exercise of his power, but he also derives this power from God (and must therefore act with humility—p. 159). The crown, placed as it is on the top of the king's head, is at once a sign of the king's supreme temporal power and of the derivative nature of this power. No man is above the king, but the king himself is subject to God.

The king governs his realm through the medium of the positive law, and Ireland (following Gerson) takes pains to locate the foundations of human law. To promulgate human law, the king must know the divine law as it pertains to mankind, thereby emulating David and Solomon, who 'war richt gret clerkis and theologis' (p. 106).

About Ireland's view of the law, James Burns has written: 'What is perhaps most striking about ... [the] definitions is the frank emphasis upon command as the essence of law and government.'[56] Burns bases his comment on the following passage from the *Meroure*: '[law] is a takin be þe quhilk a man may knaw þe thing þat his lord and Souverane oblisis him to' (p. 107). Burns tempers his remark by declaring Ireland to be 'wholly opposed to "absolutism"', and shows Ireland's concern with the mutual obligation of the king and the people. More might still be said.

We must first consider law in the light of Ireland's definition of justice. Translating Justinian (*Institutes, tit.* 1), he writes: 'iustice is a perpetual stable and constant will to gif ilk persoune þe thing þat pertenis to him' (p. 105). His interpretation of this statement has two consequences. The first is that true justice is the property of God alone and the essential features of that justice are will and reason (pp. 105, 106). A proper understanding of the relationship between will and reason is crucial. In 4.2, and 5.1, Ireland asserts that will should subject itself to reason. What reason deems appropriate the will should affirm and conform to.[57] The same is true of law, which is the means of achieving justice. It is reason that all men who have understanding use to determine what the law is. The natural law might be summarized by the Ten Commandments and epitomized even further by the Golden Rule (p. 110).

Practically speaking, however, natural law is insufficient (p. 111), for it does not specify the circumstances under which laws should apply nor prescribe

the sanctions necessary to enforce law or punish wrongdoers. Instead, the king, the promulgator of the law, must find, by reason and will, the positive law (pp. 107–8). Once again defining the law as a token, Ireland in the following passage (p. 112) is careful to include reason as a standard by which law is determined:

> the noble ciuil law is a signe and takin / þat schawis a man how he is oblist to certane thingis be the ressoune iugement and will of þe souueran þe law of god and of natur ar vnmouable & indispensable anens ony persoune excep god þat may do of his creatur quhat he emplesis

By associating reason with law Ireland aligns himself with what Otto Gierke has called the 'prevailing opinion' amongst medieval legists, an opinion

> that regarded the substance of Natural Law as a judgment touching what was right, a judgment necessarily flowing from the Divine Being and unalterably determined by that Nature of Things which is comprised in God; howbeit, the binding force of this Law, but only its binding force, was traced to God's Will.[58]

Ireland refrains from postulating the necessity of God's actions, for he remarks that God can do with his creatures as he pleases, thus suspending natural law. As a student at Paris and a translator of Gerson, the former chancellor of that university, Ireland sides with nominalists like Ockham and Pierre d'Ailly, who emphasized God's will as the arbiter of rightness. But the numerous other allusions to the law's association with God's will and reason and to the stability of God indicate a more moderate position.[59]

We might then conclude that God's will, rooted in reason, exercises itself in commands, which reasoning creatures apply to specific circumstances and obey (cf. pp. 105 6). Accordingly, human justice is that virtue which urges each person to do right to others and gives to each person his due.

This last statement brings us to the second consequence of Ireland's interpretation of justice and to his attitude towards government. Since justice claims to give each man his due, we might pose two questions: What is it that pertains to each man? And how is that 'due' apportioned? Ireland never answers the first question concretely, but he does suggest that laws are instituted to cause men to do right, whether they will to or not, and to bring each person to the perfect end of his spiritual and/or temporal living (pp. 107–8). This goal coincides with the Thomists' positive attitude toward government. Undoubtedly, Ireland accepts (as indeed a Thomist would have accepted) the Augustinian notion that because of the Fall governments are to exercise a coercive power. According to Augustine, man, prior to the Fall, was in a state of innocence and thus had no need for dominion except that exercised by his own soul. After the Fall, however, external dominion began.[60] But Ireland, like Aquinas, envisions government as more than a coercive force, ordained to punish sinners and lawbreakers. It is also a positive good.[61]

Furthermore, government is a natural activity of all reasoning people, whether they are under grace or not. In the preceding book (Book 6), Ireland espouses the view of Aquinas that even infidel kings ought to be obeyed. Individuals are not to determine for themselves whether their king be in a state of grace and thus deserving of obedience (p. 86).[62] Drawing upon the Aristotelian categories of causality, Ireland outlines the nature of dominion (pp. 109–10). The occasion is sin, but the final cause, in addition to being peace, is the bringing of people to eternal life. This goal is to be achieved by just laws (the formal cause) administered by reasoning creatures (the material cause). The whole thrust of Ireland's treatise reinforces this position—that both the king and the people be instructed in virtue.[63] Thus, there is an active good, however undefined Ireland leaves it, to which all governments through law should aspire.

Adapting the natural law to the practical operation of the kingdom for the common good naturally devolves upon the king. And it is to this subject that Ireland now turns. Of the advantages of kingship over other forms polities denominated by Aristotle in the *Politics*, Ireland, like his predecessor Gerson, is convinced.[64] But though he follows Gerson closely in these passages, Ireland contributes two significant points. The first concerns equity. Through equity, the king mediates between natural law, which is immutable, and the positive law, which he promulgates and could therefore change in unforeseeable events, when justice might not be served by a strict application of the positive law. The king measures the positive law by the standards of reason and equity and suspends that law when the circumstances so warrant.

We find Ireland on several occasions coupling 'equity' with other terms, punctuating, as it were, Gerson's plea in *Diligite iusticiam* that the French king commit himself to justice. For example, Ireland defines '*iustice euuangelic*' as 'a noble and hie wertu þat inclinis him þat has it to do all þat pertenis to god & man conformand him to equite' (p. 111).[65] The addition of the word 'equity' to Ireland's phrase has a formulaic ring to it, but he also employs it in places where the formulaic quality is less obvious (see pp. 132, 138). But beyond simply using the term, Ireland, on two separate occasions, defines it. The first of these two definitions occurs in Book 2 during the debate between the four daughters of God:

> justice suld stand jn werray richt and ressoune, and jn werray equite and nocht jn wourdis. And oft tymes necessite js, for werray richt to lefe the wourdis of the law, and folow the richt and gud entencioune of the lord and makare of the law.[66]

The second occurs in Book 7 on p. 112, when Ireland adds to Gerson the following remarks:

> bot the law ciuil or canon may be interpret & dispensit be the prince and Souuerane / be prudence and a wertu that is callit Ephekea þat arestotil spekis of / and þat is quhen werray ressoun & equite repungnis to þe wourdis of the law.

To be sure, Gerson himself had espoused equity as a means of justifying the independent actions of the general council when the pope is guilty of heresy or of fomenting schism.[67] But these sentiments are expressed in Gerson's *Considerationes Quatuor* and in *De quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus*, neither of which proves a convincing model for Ireland's definition; and in any case, the Scot interrupts his translation momentarily to record for the Scottish king's benefit his thoughts on the matter. It seems likely, then, that Ireland drew directly upon Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 5.10, as he asserts.

None of this is to suggest any novelty on Ireland's part. Upon reading this translation of his own work by his posthumous disciple, Gerson would have raised no eyebrows at this insertion. But it does seem that, given his judicial duties, Ireland is particularly devoted to an ideal that J. M. Thomson tells us was a practical concern in fifteenth-century Scotland.[68]

Having built a theological framework for kingship and law, Ireland devotes the rest of Book 7 to describing the features of a successful rule. To do so, he conforms to a genre of political literature that, according to L. K. Born, was nearly two centuries old. These political handbooks shared five attributes: an appeal to the organic analogy (whereby the kingdom is compared to the human body); an exaltation of peace as the chief end of good government; a belief in the king's subjection to natural law; exhortations to the king to choose wise counsellors; and an emphasis on the moral qualities of kingship.[69]

As to the organic analogy, Ireland cites passages from Scripture (Rom. 12:4–5 and Ephes. 4:4) that describe the

Christian community as a body (p. 115).[70] Dissension within the realm is no less serious than a dispute among members of a human body (pp. 122 3) Ireland here recounts Livy's fable of the stomach, in which the members of the body unite in their refusal to feed the stomach, which they consider to be a lazy organ. When the stomach dies from lack of nourishment, the other members, of course, follow suit. The fable vividly portrays the catastrophic, not to mention ludicrous, effects of internal confusion that the king must prevent.

The most thorough working out of the analogy occurs in pp. 157 9. Here (following Gerson in relating Nebuchadnezzar's dream), Ireland defines the social function of the king and the three estates and assigns to each a moral virtue. The head of gold in the dream represents the king, a figure of power and authority, to whom Ireland attaches the virtue of justice. The chest and arms of silver are the nobility, whose task is to defend the realm. The clergy are symbolized by the torso and thighs of brass. Their words, which are pleasant like the music of brass instruments, nourish the people through prudence and faith. Finally, there are the burgesses and laborers, who are the legs of iron and feet of iron and clay. The lowest of the estates, they signify the virtue of temperance and provide labour, rents, and revenues for the support of the kingdom.[71] Like the parts of the body, each estate has its function in the realm, no part dispensable, all obliged to work for the benefit of the others.

As we have observed, peace is a concept that is discussed in other books of the *Meroure*, especially in theological contexts. At the end of Book 7, chapter 3, Ireland (after Gerson) exhorts the king to preserve peace within the kingdom and enumerates the benefits, twelve in all, of a peaceful reign. Many of these benefits are spiritual: a peaceful realm resembles heaven; peace is a confusion to Satan; people at peace have a greater opportunity to pray. Peace also confers temporal advan-

tages: the consolidation of the king's power, the advancement of social and economic intercourse, and the union of the Christian community against the infidel. Ireland himself cites Aristotle, the Bible, and St. Augustine as his authorities in the matter, but the conventionality of such sentiments in the Middle Ages is borne out by a glance at St. Thomas' *Regimen Principum* (1.2, 15) or the last chapter of Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*.

One of the more controversial matters in medieval politics was the relation of the king to the law, the fourth issue considered by the handbooks. Where did the king stand as to natural law and its interpretation in positive law? Was he subject to the laws he himself had promulgated? The consensus, with variations, was that the king's authority was derived from his office, not his person. Although he was certainly above the people in authority, his office was established for the common good, and he too was subject to the natural law.[72] Ireland's thought on this matter (pp. 127, 128) is the same. Falling back upon theological argument, Ireland reasons that only God possesses free will and absolute liberty. All creatures, the king included, are obliged to obey God. Those who disagree with this position err against natural reason, moral philosophy, policy, law, and Scripture. Furthermore, although the king is the head, who deserves obedience and honor from the body, he has a mutual obligation to his people to serve them:

> Richtsua the king wtout his peple may nocht indur And betuix þe king and his pepill is double obligacioun of aþir syd for a gudnes requiris an vthir.

In a recent article, Dr. Roger Mason has commented that the 'formula "double obligation" appears to be Ireland's own'.[73] But Mason would dispel any idea that Ireland meant something like the theory of social contract. This is as we might expect. After all, though Ireland writes his treatise for the moral and religious

advancement of all the people, royal eyes were to see it first, and brave indeed was the man who would threaten a king to his face with lawful deposition.

Nevertheless, as a priest rather than a politician, Ireland employs what theological suasion he can. On the next folio, he interrupts his translation once again to argue that seeking to reign without this obligation had been Lucifer's sin. The king is bound by 'ane aith and iurament ... to defend the faith of ihesu to defend the haly-kyrk / and als to keip and defend his peple'. Admittedly, Ireland does not go as far as others, like Pierre d'Ailly, from the conciliarist school of Paris, who assert in an ecclesiastical context that although the pope possesses jurisdictional authority, he is not ordained with plenitude of power, a prerogative of the Church, and that he can be deposed if he abuses this power;[74] nor am I suggesting that Ireland advocates anything radical or anything that can not be inferred from the French source. But his addition is, if we fully unravel the implications of the analogy, a serious admonition to James that he heed the claims of his people upon him. Although Ireland exalts the will of the king as it is grounded in reason, he rejects wilfulness. The king is bound by oath to defend his people and the Christian faith, and the breaker of such an oath finds himself in rather distinguished demonic company. We may well ponder whether such an analogy from the lips of an idealistic priest was potent enough in the ears of a pragmatic king to achieve the same effect as the threat of a just rebellion.

Ireland does not offer sanctions available to the subjects to correct or replace an evil king,[75] and in this he is consistent with other theorists. The king as a creature of reason is exhorted and expected to restrain himself.[76] Responsibility for dealing with a wicked king rests with God, who, according to Scripture, can choose his own means of retribution (see, for example, p. 151, where Ireland addresses the issue of the just conquest).

Ireland sets forth his teaching on good counsel in Chapter 9, pp. 162–4, where he follows, almost verbatim, Chaucer's 'Tale of Melibee'. Like his source, he lists the vicious kinds of counsellors to avoid—fools and ignorant people, flatterers, enemies, drunkards, double-talkers, and sinners. Advice is to be evaluated as to its truthfulness, its reason, its regard for safety and honour, its practicability, and its source (i.e., the relative wisdom of the counsellor who gives it).[77] Related to the king's selection of counsellors is his choice of justices. On pp. 132–5, Ireland lays down certain commonly held rules for the vicarious administration of justice in the realm: justice is not to be bought or sold; judges are to be chosen for their virtue; judges are not to be changed frequently, lest newly instituted judges, realizing the instability of their positions, seek to obtain unlawful profits;[78] and, finally, judges are to show impartial justice.[79]

As to the prince's personal morality, the seventh book fairly teems with hortatory counsel. In fact, the cardinal virtues form something of an organizing principle to the book. Chapter 2 is devoted to wisdom, chapters 3 and 6 to strength (fortitude) and temperance, Chapter 5 to justice, and Chapter 8 to the four virtues *in toto*. Specific passages urge the king to follow a godly life (p. 135), to abstain from lechery (pp. 130–1), to beware flattery (p. 130), and to marry a good queen in order to sire virtuous offspring (pp. 135–6). Simply put, the king's success in government depends on his moral qualities as much as, if not more than, his administrative and political ability.[80] Wisdom, of course, is the primary virtue, hence the title of the treatise.[81] Equipped with all the institutional apparatus he needs as ordained by God (the three estates, his judges, and his counsellors), the king has but to follow the moral dictates of God in bringing about peace, prosperity, and justice to his kingdom.

We might consider one last feature of Ireland's political thought, his belief in a qualified hereditary succession

(pp. 142 54). He defends this position against Marsilius of Padua's heretical attacks on the nature of kingship during the previous century. But interestingly enough, Ireland attempts to refute Marsilius' arguments by simply inverting them.[82]

What follows is an outline of Ireland's arguments (Mapstone includes a similar list in her dissertation):

On Election:

1) Pro: The authority of Aristotle, who says that a virtuous king will not necessarily beget a virtuous heir, rests with election.
   Contra: Aristotle's conclusion was not meant to be determinate. Nevertheless, even if it were meant to be determinate, it must be understood as being conditional; and the conditions under which it can be implemented must be ideal. As to the wicked heir, Ireland argues that the people could remedy the problem of a bad king by giving him wise counsel.
2) Pro: The people claim that they would never choose a wicked king.
   Contra: Those who argue thus are naive, for they fail to see the ambition in mankind.
3) Pro: If the king dies while his heir is still a minor, it is possible that those chosen as governors will be corrupt, especially if they were kin to the young king.
   Contra: The king and the law should provide for wise counsellors in this eventuality.
4) Pro: Election need not be prejudicial to the king's heir in that he could be considered first for election.
   Contra: The king's heir might not be chosen.
5) Pro: The king must learn to be a good subject before he can be a good king.
   Contra: It is sufficient that a king be instructed in virtue to rule wisely.
6) Pro: The king is the father of his people; therefore, it is unprofitable that a king's young heir come to the throne. A man of wisdom should be chosen from amongst the people.

Contra: A king, even though young in years, need not be young in manners and virtue.

7) Pro: A king who is chosen directly from the people will feel more obliged to work for their benefit, seeing they have entrusted their care to him.
Contra: Hereditary succession is more convenient and sure, as arguments below will indicate.

8) Pro: A king elected by the people will seek to educate his children in all the virtues so that one of them might be chosen as his successor.
Contra: The same as number 7.

9) Pro: The example of Ceylon, as cited in Solinus, shows that the people thrive when they elect a king.
Contra: In the case of Ceylon, the laws are reputed to be so harsh that no one wants to be king.

10) Pro: Custom and Biblical precedent favour election. For example, the pope and other ecclesiasts, who are elected according to *via Spiritus Sancti*; officers in the universities; and David and Saul, kings of Israel.
Contra: Election would be the best way if conditions were ideal; but as they are not, hereditary succession is the best way.

On Hereditary Succession (pro):

1) He who 'owns' the kingship will protect it more carefully, just as he protects his own property.
2) In the exercise of justice, he who is elected will be wary of offending powerful people in the realm, since they had helped to place him on the throne.
3) The people tend to support the line that their fathers have supported.
4) Any change tends to weaken the stability of the realm.
5) Dispute amongst the people as to who should be elected might cause dissension in the realm.
6) Those kings who realize their heirs will not succeed will seek to gain for themselves and their families as much wealth as possible.
7) It is possible that one might act virtuously before

the election so as to obtain the kingship and yet show himself to be wicked afterwards.

8) Good children are often bred by good parents; it is likely that a good king will have a virtuous heir.

9) Since, under the laws of hereditary succession, people recognize that they do not have an opportunity to become king, they desire the throne less, it being farther from their grasp.

10) If a select group were responsible for choosing a king, then bargaining would perhaps take place. Such a process might lead to evil results.

11) The decline of the Roman Empire is attributable to election.

12) Hereditary succession is the custom in Spain, France, and other countries.

13) Hereditary succession, with the continuity and stability it provides, resembles most closely the government of God, who is immutable and stable.

14) Hereditary succession provides a means by which the king might live on through his son.

15) One has but to look at the Golden Age, when people chose the most virtuous line to be their hereditary kings.

16) Ancient stories and Biblical narrative suggest that kings and their heirs reigned in perpetuity. Election only occurred when a new nation began or when a royal line died out.

The difference between the two men, Ireland and Marsilius, is not simply their positions on opposite sides of an argument. It extends both to their presuppositions and to sources their of authority. Of their presuppositions Gordan Leff comments: 'Briefly, it [*Defensor Pacis*] was designed to establish on Aristotelian lines the secular organization of the state and the subordination of the church to it'.[83] Such a stance is foreign to Ireland's political and religious thought.

The second difference lies in the word 'Aristotelian'. Marsilius relies on Aristotle almost exclusively, his only other reference being a citation from Cicero's *De officiis*.

But whereas Ireland frequently calls upon Aristotle, particularly the *Politics* and, to a lesser extent, the *Rhetoric*, for support, he is careful to add that Aristotle's arguments for election are not set forth 'determinately'. Even if they were, they should be understood conditionally, applying only when the transference could take place without 'ony scisme or diuisioun', a situation which is highly unlikely 'in sa gret a mater for ambicioun' (p. 153). His respect for Aristotle thus qualified, Ireland solicits the aid of numerous other authorities. I shall briefly categorize them:

Biblical—Genesis, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, Daniel, Romans, I Peter
Patristic—Augustine's *De civitate dei*; Jerome's epistles
Ecclesiastical—decrees of the Sixth Counsel of Toledo
Historical—Justinus' *Epitome*
Political (customary)—the practice of Spain and France
Sociological—Solinus' *Collectanea rerum*

Ireland's conclusion, which Mapstone suggests 'may be more of his independent making',[84] is that the people should choose the royal line and then the kingship should proceed by hereditary succession thereafter.[85] Ireland calls forth a host of other authorities: 1) custom—it is the way of Spain and France; 2) Aristotle (*Politics* 2.9; 3.13, 14,15,17; 5.10,11); and 3) Scripture—Christ, for example, chose the tribe of Judah from which to be born and reign. The position is not an endorsement of absolute hereditary succession (i.e., when the king arrogates the office to himself and his heirs). To quote Mapstone, 'There is no exaltation of the monarch's quasi-divine status nor declaration of his absolute right to the throne'.[86] Rather, Ireland recognizes that authority is derived ultimately from the people. A more immediate popular sovereignty, especially in this fallen world, is unthinkable. At the same time, there seems to be a wistful reluctance in Ireland's tone. In this reluctance,

he is faithful to his conciliarist principles as suggested in Book 3.15, where he places supreme authority for questions on faith and creed in the hands of the general council first, the Church of Rome next, and finally the pope.[87]

Despite the length of the chapter, Ireland successfully disguises his own feelings about James IV's rebellion against his father and seems content enough to allow, at least tacitly, the young James' sovereignty as son of the dead king.

On the basis of these remarks, it seems clear that in Ireland's mind, regardless of his original intentions, the movement from the first six books to the seventh suffers from no serious disruptions in theme or purpose. The first six books provide the kind of theological training a king as but one member of the community of faith must have in order to obtain wisdom. The seventh is a special application of that wisdom to the affairs of state. In all of this, it must be reiterated, Ireland brings nothing new to the established body of medieval political and religious thought. Instead, his contribution in the *Meroure* is the fusion of two didactic traditions—manuals of religious instruction, such as William of Nassington's *Speculum Vitae*;[88] and the regiment of princes literature, which includes the treatises of Giles of Rome, St. Thomas Aquinas, Thomas Hoccleve, or Scotland's own Sir Gilbert Hay.

Where does this leave the *Meroure* with regard to the fifteenth-century political scene? At a first glance, we might be tempted to dismiss the treatise as entirely conventional, out of step with the growing complex of issues that any burgeoning European bureaucracy had to face at the close of the century. After all, Ireland turns to Gerson and Arnold of Brescia (through Chaucer) as sources for much of his teaching, which relies so heavily on moral suasion rather than institutional change. This is in keeping with the tendency of most political writing of the Middle Ages, which seldom acknowledged insti-

tutional sources of instability and corruption.[89] Exhortations to prudence, fortitude, justice, and temperance might appear too abstract and remote a response to the intractable problems of debased coinage, stormy relations with France and England, and an ineffective or corrupt legal machinery, problems that plagued the reign of James III, the period during which Ireland served most conspicuously and which he knew intimately. Yet he is silent about such practical affairs, and it appears that there is a disjunction between theory and need. But recent examinations of the period suggest that the *Meroure*, for all its conventionality and conservatism, strikes a contemporary and, given the nature of Scottish affairs, practical note. Jennifer Wormald, for example, argues that the Scottish system of government was looser, less centralized, and more dependent on the personal relations between the king and his subjects, responsible for maintaining 'an acceptable degree of order'.[90] In keeping with this revisionist view of Scottish history, which, instead of decrying the relative simplicity of Scotland's government as unsophisticated, praises the virtues of such a system, the *Meroure*, with its emphasis on peace, the paternal quality of the king, and the mutual obligations of king and subject, no longer seems naive and outmoded. Instead, Gerson and Arnold seem logical places to turn as sources for a familial notion of kingship.[91]

We might leave Book 7 with a brief look at two issues other than Ireland's political concerns, issues that have arisen in the last ten years. These, too, are highlighted by an examination of the *Meroure* against Ireland's sources, and they give us a sense of Ireland's cultural and critical temper: the literature familiar to him and his exegetical method.

As to the first, Brother Bonaventure Miner has argued that Ireland 'shows himself to be influenced, however unconsciously, by the Renaissance spirit and more particularly by humanist thinking'.[92] Miner adduces two

pieces of evidence from Book 7 to substantiate his claim: Ireland's use of classical sources and his emphasis on the dignity of man. How much we have to modify the first of Miner's claims, the breadth of Ireland's reading, is apparent by the list of references also found in passages he borrowed from Gerson's sermons or Chaucer's 'Melibee'. Ireland's firsthand knowledge of these 'humanist' texts is at least rendered suspect.

Still, this debt to Gerson and Chaucer notwithstanding, the list of authors he is familiar with, both classical and non-classical, is certainly impressive. The most popular of Ireland's sources, by the sheer weight of numbers, are Virgil, Sallust, Livy, and Ovid.[93] This tallies with the literary interests of Gavin Douglas, Ireland's contemporary, though younger by two generations.[94] For both, Ovid is 'a treasure-house of myth and heroic legend'[95] instead of a poet of love, and Aeneas is an idealized prince.[96] But for all these similarities, the differences are great. Bawcutt shows Douglas' admiration for the artistry and style of the Roman authors and notes the considerable influence of such Italian humanists as Boccaccio, Valla, and Landino upon Douglas' thinking. Ireland's appreciation for Virgil and Ovid extends simply to their value as moral teachers. He may have consulted Boccaccio when interpreting the myths he finds in Gerson or introduces himself; the interpretations are too general to argue this convincingly. And he demonstrates from time to time a literary awareness that informs the telling of his stories. But the issue of style, a principal concern of the Renaissance, never enters into the discussion. The primary reason for this difference between the two men is, of course, the nature of their writing. The subject of Bawcutt's inquiry is Douglas's poetry, ours is Ireland's prose. Bawcutt's hypothetical question asked of Douglas, 'What have Aquinas or Pierre d'Ailly to do in a secular poem like *The Palice of Honour*?'[97] might be just as easily restated, 'What have Boccaccio or Landino to do in a political

treatise like the seventh book of *The Meroure of Wyss-dome?*' But the whole tenor of the two men's attitudes towards the past seems vastly different. For Ireland there is little to distinguish Scipio Africanus from Aeneas; both are exemplary rulers. We must agree with Professor Burns, 'Ireland was no humanist, but the world of classical humanism was not totally alien to him'.[98]

I have limited myself to considering the political implications of the *Meroure*'s departure from its sources. The poetic implications are, I believe, just as important, but these I have explored elsewhere. He does, of course, choose prose as the vehicle for his instruction because of the seriousness of his subject: 'þe hie materis of theologie are teichit jn thire bukis jn my maner of speking', i.e., in prose. Even Chaucer, in the 'Parson's Tale' had resorted to prose when he 'cummys to sad and gret materis'.[99] But Ireland's admiration for poetry is irrepressible. He includes in the *Meroure* one poem, 'Moder of God', attributed to Chaucer (though the work of Hoccleve), a Latin poem which he presumably borrowed from Domenico Mancini, and two Latin poems of his own composition.[100] Because of certain resemblances between passages in the *Meroure* and the Middle Scots poem *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*, R. J. Lyall presents Ireland as a viable candidate for authorship of the latter. Ireland also lauds the poets Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate for 'jnduceand personis to lefe vicis and folow wertuis' and allows that 'þai suld be gretlie thankit þarof, for jn þar bukis þai teich a tragedy, þat schawis in þis waurldly plesaunce—jn the begynnyng gret plesaunce and dilectacioune, And in the ende, all manere of sorow and displesaunce'.[101] Furthermore, in persuading his readers of the truth of the faith, he lists sixteen proofs from the rhetoricians (eight derived from Scotus in his commentary on the *Sentences* and eight of his own, based presumably on his reading of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintillian, and Al-farabi). Occasionally, he draws upon the literary imagination, another's or his own, to inves-

tigate and convey effectively the truth of divine mystery. For example, he begins Chapter 9 of Book 2 in this fashion:

> This cheptur folowand declaris the gret disputacioune betuix the foure hevinly wertuis, Mercy, verite, equite & pes, before the hie maieste and the hevinly wisdome, anens þe jncarnacioune of the blist sone of god, jhesus, þe sone and froit of þis nobile lady and virgin. And thir wertuis j wil compare to certane personag, & proced as mony poetis & doctouris þer modum dealogie.[102]

What follows is the well-known debate between the four daughters of God, which Sally Mapstone suggests is drawn from the *Court of Sapience*.[103]

Poetry, then, is greatly esteemed; and although the *Meroure* certainly makes no claim to treat the matter of literary interpretation systematically, part of its task is to consider poesy as a mirror of wisdom itself. In such cases, wisdom is now at a double remove, reflected to the reader by two mirrors, poetry and its interpreter, the *Meroure*. By comparing passages from the *Meroure* to their counterparts in Gerson's sermons, we discover that what remains of the poetry from this process of double reflection is Ireland's specifically moral and political bias.[104]

With this observation we have come back to our initial point: Ireland's relentless subjugation of the visible and temporal to the purposes of the spiritual. Whether it be the courtesy of Scipio to a captive virgin, the concern of Aeneas for his companions, or, at the sacramental level, the breaking of bread, he uses it as a means of instructing the Scottish king and people in the ways of moral and spiritual wisdom.

ENDNOTES

1. Vol. 1, ed. Charles Macpherson, Scottish Text Society 2.19 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1926), and vol. 2., ed. F. Quinn STS 4.2 (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1965). Hereafter, I will designate volume 1 by 'Macpherson', volume 2 by 'Quinn'.

2. Of earlier attempts to edit the manuscript, Macpherson writes, 'So many scholars have attempted the task of editing this work, and then abandoned it, that one may be pardoned for thinking there is a ban on its ever being published' (p. viii).

3. 'John Ireland and "The Meroure of Wyssdome"', *Innes Review* 6 (1955), 77–98.

4. 'The Popular Theology of John Ireland', *Innes Review* 13 (1962), 130–46.

5. Quinn, 'Introduction', pp. xix–xxxi.

6. '*The Meroure of Wyssdome* and *The Thre Prestis of Peblis*: A Possible Relationship'; 'John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome* and Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 21 (1986), 23–34. 'John Ireland's Literary Sensibility: *The Meroure of Wyssdome*, Book 7', in *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. by J. D. McClure and M. R. G. Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1989): 324–36.

7. Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature, 1450–1500', unpub. D.Phil. thesis (Univ. of Oxford, 1986); and 'A Mirror for a Divine Prince: John Ireland and the Four Daughters of God', in *Bryght Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland*, ed. J. D. McClure and M. R. G. Spiller (Aberdeen: Aberdeen Univ. Press, 1989), pp. 308–23. Mason, 'Kingship, Tyranny, and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth Century Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 66.2 (1987): 125–51.

8. 'John Ireland: New Light and Fresh Problems', to be published by the *Innes Review*.

9. Macpherson, p. 14.

10. Curiously enough, Ireland's commentary on the *Sentences*, Aberdeen Univ. MS 264, departs from this order. I will address this issue and its implications for the *Meroure* in more detail presently. James Burns has surmised that Ireland composed the commentary on the *Sentences* (of which only the commentary on books 3 and 4 survive) in the early 1480s during a period of extensive writing. Burns traces the birth of treatises on the Immaculate Conception and on special help, and at least two Latin poems on the Blessed Virgin Mary to this period. So fully imbued is Ireland with the spirit of his age that his commentary on the fourth book of the *Sentences*—with its lengthy defense of conciliarism and the role of tradition in matters of faith, its refutation of Pelagianism and Donatism, and the special regard it attaches to the sacrament of penance—might have provided a blueprint for a whole section of Francis Oakley's recent book *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell, 1979), which takes no notice of him whatsoever. See especially Chapter 3, 'Currents of Thought: Theological and Doctrinal Developments', pp. 131–74. On at least nine occasions in the *Meroure*, Ireland invites us to turn to his commentary for a fuller treatment of the subjects at hand.

11. *Physica* 1 (Bekker 184a).

12. Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 3.65.1

13. Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles* 4.58.

14. Cf. Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924; rpt., Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954), pp. 200–14. Huizinga's concluding comments in the chapter are provocative: 'The human mind felt that it was face to face with an enigma, but none the less it kept on trying to discern the figures in the glass, explaining images by yet other images. Symbolism was like a second mirror held up to that of the phenomenal world itself.'

15. In the commentary (ff. 186r.–186v.), Ireland explains that the water must be elemental. His treatment of the sacrament in the commentary is brief and is generally limited to what constitutes an effective baptism and who should receive the sacrament. For example, should a priest baptize the children of infidels without permission from the parents?

16. Both the councils of Constance and Basel had laid down this rule; cf. *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, 2nd ed.

(Basel, 1962): Constance, Session 13, 15 June 1415; Basel, Session 30, 23 Dec. 1437.

17. This image he borrows from Augustine, as he alleges in the commentary, ff. 208r., 211r. 211v. But cf. Critical Notes, Book 7, 33.27.

18. Dewan, 'Eucharist (as Sacrament)', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967 ed.

19. Cf. Dewan, 'Eucharist. Recipient', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967 ed.; and F. Costa, 'Communion, Spiritual', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967 ed. Ireland treats the subject in his commentary on ff. 202r.–202v.

20. Ireland treats the subject more fully in his commentary (ff. 144v.–145v.), still admitting that the line between the two types of sin is difficult to determine. He concludes that mortal sin is directly contemptuous of God and is mortal *ex genere* or intrinsically. See I. McGuiness, 'Sin', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967 ed., who cites Aquinas in defining venial sin as that which 'leaves the principle but introduces inordinateness among things consequent to it,' and mortal sin as that which 'destroys the very principle of order' (*Summa Theologiae* 1a2ae 72.5; cf. 88.1 *ad* 1, where Thomas also characterizes mortal sin as '*contra legem*', venial sin as '*praeter legem*').

21. Burns discusses this issue in 'John Ireland: New Light', p. 23.

22. Cf. Macpherson, pp. 136–7.

23. The Council of Florence, in 1439, had spoken of character as an '"impress" in the soul' (P.L. Hanley, 'Sacramental Character', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967 ed.). Ireland himself, in the commentary (f. 191r.), defines character as the 'sign of a disposition, namely to grace'.

24. In 'John Ireland and "The Meroure of Wyssdome"', pp. 82–83, 93, J. H. Burns cites the commentary as evidence for Ireland's conciliarism. For a survey of the Scottish participation in the conciliarist movement, see Burns, 'The Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, 42 (Oct. 1963), 89–104. Brother Bonaventure Miner has pointed out that Ireland's conciliarist principles occur in such an unlikely place as the treatise on the Immaculate Conception: 'John Ireland and the Immaculate Conception', *Innes*

Review, 17 (1966): 38-39. Cf. Miner's 'The Popular Theology of John Ireland', *Innes Review*, 13 (1962), 140–1.

25. I hope to demonstrate the influence of Ireland's conciliarist principles in a forthcoming article in *Studies in Scottish Literature* (1991), the proceedings of the Sixth International Research Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Language and Literature.

26. In his commentary, f. 134v., Ireland draws upon Augustine to refute the heresy.

27. Berengar had, under pressure, recanted of his position in 1059 and had declared that 'the bread and wine which are placed on the altar are, after the consecration, not only a sacrament, but the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ'—cited in Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 3 (Chicago and London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 187. The issue was crucial to the church because the Eucharist was envisioned both as a sacrament and as a sacrifice.

28. It is interesting that Ireland uses the term 'error' to describe the Greek position. Fitzralph had shown the same sort of restraint. See Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard Fitzralph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), pp. 129–81, especially pp. 149–50.

29. Oakley, *The Western Church*, pp. 133–48, 159–61, 207–9.

30. Quinn, p. 131.

31. See Gordon Leff, *Gregory of Rimini: Tradition and Innovation in Fourteenth Century Thought* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1961), especially, pp. 158–96. Cf. his earlier work, *Bradwardine and the Pelagians: A Study of his 'de Causa Dei' and its Opponents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

32. See T. M. De Ferrari, 'Baptism (Theology of)', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1967 ed.

33. In his commentary, Ireland cites the objection of St. Cyprian to baptism by a heretic as equivalent to washing by the devil, but calls upon St. Augustine in repudiation of this position and of the Donatists. The Lateran Council of 1216 had decreed that in an emergency anyone could baptize another person, so long as the sacrament were performed with with water and the proper form

(*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 'Baptism (Later Christian)'). Ireland himself appealed to Duns Scotus for authority to say that an evil minister or heretic could administer the sacrament provided that he did so with the proper form, and with intention, knowledge, and will (commentary, f. 194v., see also ff. 187r.–187v.) Cf. Pelikan, vol. 3, p. 233; and Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages: The Relation of Heterodoxy to Dissent, c.1250–c.1450*, vol. 2 (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 494–558.

34. Quotations from these sermons are from Gerson's *Oeuvres Complètes* (hereafter *OC*), vol. 7: *L'Oeuvres Francaise*, ed. P. Glorieux (Paris: Desclée, 1968).

35. I have noted additions to Mason's list by reference to Mapstone, Lyall, and McDonald. I am grateful to Drs. Mason, Mapstone, and Lyall for generously sharing their research with me.

36. See n. 6.

37. 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', pp. 433–43.

38. 'John Ireland's Literary Sensibility', in *Bryght Lanternis*, ed. by McClure and Spiller (Aberdeen: AUP, 1989), pp. 324–36.

39. Burns, 'John Ireland and "The Meroure of Wyssdome" ', p. 89. In the argument and dedication of the work, Ireland states that he intended to treat his subject in five books, the fifth showing 'þi hieness mony nobile doctrine, hou þou sall gouerne the anens god, þi pepil and þi realme' (Macpherson, p. 15). We might note that Book 7 holds an anomalous position in the *Meroure* similar to that of Book 7 in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.

40. See, for example, his comment in the '*Exordium*': 'In þe cheptur followand I sall schaw be vthir wayis, quhat honour and proffit is to a king or a prince to wak and geve his laubour and study to wisdome, sene it is all the steir of his gouernaunce and of his realme' (Macpherson, p. 8).

41. Cf. Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.12.

42. '*Exordium*' (Macpherson, p. 5).

43. See Ireland's own statement of this doctrine in f. 310v.; and the discussion by Otto Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, trans. F. W. Maitland (1900; rpt., Boston: Beacon, 1959), pp. 7–8, 30–35.

44. Quinn, pp. 84, 113.

45. Macpherson, p. 46.

46. Quinn, pp. 12, 109.

47. Quinn, p. 117. Cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 1a2ae, 90.4.4, who defines law in this manner: '*[lex] nihil est aliud quam quaedam rationis ordinatio ad bonum commune, ab eo qui curam communitatis habet, promulgata*' (cited in *Aquinas: Selected Political Writings*, ed. A. P. d'Entrèves, trans. J. G. Dawson [Oxford: Blackwell, 1974], p. 112).

48. Macpherson, p. 44.

49. Quinn, pp. 101–2.

50. Sally Mapstone has pointed to the *Court of Sapience* as a possible source for this debate. See note 7.

51. 'Popular Theology', p. 142.

52. Quinn, pp. 9, 32, 72, 96.

53. Macpherson, pp. 113–14.

54. A similar sentiment is expressed in Sir Gilbert Hay's *Governaunce of Princis*: 'the vertu of justice is the fairest vertu that is in a prince, and ane of the proprieteis of the hye and glorious almychti God ... for justice is the fourme and foundement that God the glorious has sett to governe all his creaturis, to drawe thame till him at the last' (ed. J. H. Stevenson, STS, 1st Series, 62 [Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1914], p. 145).

55. Of this kingly role Thomas Aquinas writes in *Regimen Principum*, 1.12: '*Hoc igitur officium rex suscepisse cognoscat, ut sit in regno sicut in corpore anima, et sicut Deus in mundo*'—the king's function in the realm corresponds to that of the soul in the body and of God in the universe (in d'Entrèves, p. 66).

56. Burns, 'John Ireland and the "Meroure"', p. 91.

57. Quinn, p. 113.

58. Gierke, *Political Theories*, p. 173, n. 256.

59. See Book 4.2 (Quinn, pp. 88–89), on the nature of God: his infinity, but also his justice. From a study of the scholastic authors whom Ireland cites, James Burns has argued that 'Ireland's intellectual position as a whole had in it strong elements of eclecticism' ('John Ireland: New Light and Fresh Problems', p. 18). Burns provides a substantial analysis of these authors on pp. 14–20.

60. St. Augustine, *De civitate dei* 29.15; and Charles McIlwain's discussion of the medieval interpretation of this passage in *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (1932; rpt., New York, 1960), pp. 159–61.

61. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologiae* 1a2a3 92.1, writes: '*Manifestum est quod hoc sit proprium legis, inducere subiectos ad propriam ipsorum virtutem. Cum igitur virtus sit 'quae bonum facit habentem', sequitur quod proprius effectus legis sit bonos facere eos quibus datur*' (in d'Entrèves, p. 116). Cf. the discussion by Ewart Lewis, *Medieval Political Ideas* (New York, 1954), 1.151–2.

62. Cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* 2a2ae 10.10.

63. See, for instance, the 'Argument and Dedication' in Macpherson, p. 15. See also p. 164.

64. Aristotle, *Politics* 3.7–9; cf. Aquinas, *De regimine principum* 1.1, and Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum* 3.2.2.

65. Cp. Gerson's definition, '*justice evangelique est la vertus par laquelle celui qui l'a est enclin rendre a un chascun ce qui est sien selond le droit de l'evangile afin de beatitude ou felicite acquerir et eschever dampnation*—the justice of the Gospel is the virtue by which the one who has it is inclined to render to each that which belongs to him, according to the law of the Gospel, in order that he may obtain blessedness or felicity and eschew damnation' (*DJ*, *OC* 7.607).

66. Macpherson, pp. 113–14.

67. For Gerson's views on equity, see J. B. Morrall, *Gerson and the Great Schism* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1960), pp. 84–85, 121–2.

68. *The Public Records of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1922), pp. 32–33.

69. Born, 'The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Ideals', *Speculum*, 3 (1928), 470–504, especially 503–4.

70. In the commentary (ff. 128v., 131r.), Ireland appeals to the analogy to prove that power resides in the whole of the Church.

71. Elsewhere (pp. 106–7), Ireland elaborates upon these relationships, which might best be illustrated by a diagram:

Temporal Virtue	Spiritual Virtue	Part of Human Nature	Enemy of Virtue	Social Estate
power	hope	irascible	world	nobility
wisdom	faith	reasonable	devil	clergy
mercy	love	concupiscible	flesh	burgess/ labourer

Justice, as bound up with the king, is that virtue which orders society and the individual so that virtues and estates can function properly.

72. See Gierke, *Political Theories*, pp. 33–36. See also Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum*, 3.2.27, who places the king between natural and positive law. For Aegidius, I have used the medieval French translation, *Li Livres du gouvernement des rois*, ed. S. P. Molenaer (New York: Macmillan, 1899).

73. Mason, p. 140; see also n. 2.

74. Oakley, *Political Thought*, p. 122.

75. Burns, 'John Ireland and the "Meroure" ', p. 93.

76. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought*, pp. 320–1, 323.

77. Cf. c. 36 of Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buke of the Governaunce of Princis*, ed. Stevenson.

78. See p. 134 for Ireland's comment on Louis XI of France, under whom Ireland served as emissary.

79. The tales, which are to be found in Gerson's *Vivat rex*, are also told in the *Thre Prestis of Peblis*. See McDonald, '*The Thre Prestis of Peblis* and *The Meroure of Wyssdome*', pp. 153–64. Cf. Aegidius, 3.2.18–19; *Joannis de Fordun Scotichronicon cum supplementis et continuatione Walter Boweri*, ed. Walter Goddall (Edinburgh, 1775), 10.7; and *Tractatus de regimine principum ad regem Henricum sextum*, 2.3, in *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J.-P. Genet, Camden Society 4.18 (London, 1977).

80. One might recall Aegidius' *De regimine principum* 1.2, which deals principally with the virtues necessary to kingship.

81. Ireland, of course, is not alone here. Aegidius extols works of wisdom as the highest good a king can achieve, because in this task he is the 'serjeant of God' (*De regimine principum* 1.1.12; cf. Ireland's phrase 'louetennand of God' in chapter 8). Sir Gilbert Hay, in his *Buke of the Governaunce of Princis*, c. 5, defines such wisdom ('sapience') as being 'wele avisit and counsailit in knaulage of the lawis of God and man, and ... nocht in vanitee bot in werk and in veritee' (Stevenson, p. 89). See the discussion of the medieval wisdom and fortitude topos in Ernst Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W. R. Trask, Bollingen Series, 26 (New York, 1953), pp. 170–8.

82. Mapstone, 'The Advice to Princes Tradition', p. 439. See *Marsilius of Padua*, trans. Alan Gewirth (New York: Arno Press, 1979), 2.68–80.

83. Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages*, 2.405.

84. Mapstone, p. 439.

85. Burns, 'John Ireland and the "Meroure"', p. 93.

86. Mapstone, p. 439.

87. Quinn, p. 80.

88. See Ingrid Peterson, *William of Nassington: Canon, Mystic, and Poet of the Speculum Vitae* (New York: Lang, 1986).

89. A. B. Ferguson, *The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 1, 15–16, 32–34, 55, 61–62.

90. *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland 1470–1625*. New History of Scotland, vol. 4 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 19–20, 26, 29.

91. For further study (and differing views) on the political history of the period, one might turn to N. A. T. Macdougall's *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982); Alexander Grant's *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306 1469*, New History of Scotland, vol. 3 (London: Arnold, 1984); and Ranald Nicholson's *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, Edinburgh History of Scotland, vol.

2 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1974). In Jennifer Brown, ed., *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1977), noted scholars bring to Scottish studies (politics, literature, art, law) a much needed corrective to the notion that Scotland lagged behind in the development of a culture. Cf. Mason, 'Kingship', pp. 125–6, for a critical analysis of the revisionist view.

92. Miner, 'The Popular Theology', pp. 144–5.

93. These are not exclusively the writers of republican Rome who, as Matthew McDiarmid has argued, influenced so greatly fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Scottish historians and epic poets. Cf. 'The Kingship of the Scots in their Writers', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 6 (May 1979), 5–18 (10).

94. Priscilla Bawcutt, 'The "Library" of Gavin Douglas', in *Bards and Makers: Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance*, ed. A. J. Aitken, M. P. McDiarmid, and D. S. Thomson (Glasgow: Glasgow Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 107–26, especially pp. 111–17.

95. Bawcutt, p. 113.

96. Cp. Bawcutt, p. 116.

97. Bawcutt, p. 109.

98. Burns, 'John Ireland: New Light', p. 14.

99. Macpherson, p. 74.

100. Burns, 'John Ireland: New Light', pp. 6–7.

101. Macpherson, p. 164.

102. Macpherson, p. 106.

103. 'Mirror for a Divine Prince'; see n. 7.

104. For a consideration of the moral and political concerns of fifteenth-century Scottish literature, see Ian Jamieson, 'Some Attitudes to Poetry in Late Fifteenth-Century Scotland', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 15 (1980), 40; and R. J. Lyall 'Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland', *Scottish Literary Journal*, 3.2 (1976), 25.

EDITORIAL POLICY

I have, for the most part, followed the editorial policy of Quinn's edition of books 3–5. What follows are my departures from that policy.

I. Abbreviations

Abbreviations are italicized according to spellings of the word in full in the MS or according to the *DOST* or *OED*.

Ascending mark from a letter. In some instances this mark is a flourish and is disregarded (after the 'e' in prince, p. 156.02). A case could be made for treating it as a mark for a terminal 'e' after 'r', 'g', or 'n', or as a medial 'i' when used with 'le', by analogy with the Latin abbreviation, as in sensibile (e.g., 'nobile' or 'pepile'), or with 'r' (e.g., 'puir'). The terminal 'e' has, however, been added only after a soft 'g' with the ascending mark, when the word in its unabbreviated state is normally, though not always, written with a terminal 'e' (e.g., 'knawlage', 'mariage', 'chaunge', but not 'king'). The medial 'i' has been disregarded.

The mark appearing after 't' in the case of 'count' (164.25) is not expanded.

The mark appearing medially is expanded as necessary. In the case of 'spirituale' and 'speciale', the abbreviations are nearly identical, the 'u' of 'spirituale' and the medial 'e' of 'speciale' resembling one another very closely. The context usually dictates the form to be used, but see textual note 2, p. 100.08.

II. Latin passages are in italics. Abbreviations are expanded and expansions are in roman type.

III. Compound words are joined and divided indiscriminately in the MS, and I have followed suit. In some

cases, I have had to exercise my own judgment. Words affected are 'halykirk', 'halyscriptur', 'salbe', 'tocum', and 'insafer'. More problematic are 'wn to' (47.26), 'wt thi' (82.08), 'wn commandit' (138.02), 'to giddir' (passim), and 'wn agill' (139.38). Still, I have followed what the form the text seems clearly to dictate, especially since meaning is unaffected.

IV. Repetitions caused by scribal error are deleted from the text and noted in the textual notes. Conjectural scribal errors are corrected in the text. Such corrections are enclosed in parentheses and noted in the textual notes. Treatment is conservative.

Book 6

[226r] *Explicit quintus Liber Incipit Sextus liber de Sacramentis etc.*[1]

This[2] folowand cheptur de/clar*is* how the haly sacra/me*nt*i*s* ar the sp*irit*ual medi/cinis proffitable & necessar till ws agane o*u*r syn And for our saluacioun / and hou þai haue wertu in þame of the glorius passioun of ih*es*u and of his haly wourd*is etc.*

[226v] In[3] þis werk I will[4] procede to treit the mat*er* of þe haly sacrame*nt*i*s* of the new law / that ar þe sp*irit*uall medy/cynis necessar for our salua/cioun / for þar wertu deliuer*is* ws fra syn / þai gif ws grace and bring*is* ws to þe hevinly blis and ioy et*er*nall / for eft*ir* at the man fall in syn and tynis his wertu and p*er*feccioun / it is necessar for his saluacioun / that he be deliuerit þarof / and get remissioun and indulgence of his trespas*is* And þis mercy and indulgence na ma*n* may gif bot ih*es*us for he is werray god / and in his humanite he has wone þis power be wertu of his glorius passioun for he sais / *data est michi omnis potestas in celo et in terra Et paulus factus est obediens vsque ad mortem Et propter hoc deus exaltauit illum et dedit ei nomine quod est super omne nomen*/[5] And the artikle of the faith sais / þat he is tocum / and sall iuge all ma*n* baith gud and euill And þarfor richt necessar and *con*uenien*t* is to knaw the maner þat is ordanit & insti/tut be ih*es*u Our saluiour / and gevin to þe haly kyrk his lufit spous to deliuer the synnar*is* fra þar syn & p*er*dicioun / and bring þame to þar p*er*fit state in sp*irit*uale lif / and p*er*feccioun of þar saule And the prop*er* way & maner of knawlage *con*uenien*t* and ganand to þe man [227r] as[6] teichis arestotill and the

philosophouris / is first to knaw bodely sensible and visible things / and be knaw/lage of þame tocum and grow to þe knawlage of things spirituale and inuisible / And sene the perfeccioun þat ihesus gevis to þe man / þat puttis all imperfec/cioun fra him / and clengis him of syn is spirituale / for it is þe hie and noble wertu of grace / þat is in/sensible as þe saule is Tharfor ihesus of his grace has ordanit thingis corporale sensible and visible to induce and led the man in knawlage of the spirituale grace / and vthir thingis insensible necessar and conue/nient for his saluacioun And has ordand at the men wsand and resauand thir thingis corporale / and sensible in the maner and fassone that he has ordand sal be deliuerit fra þar syn / and resaue þe hie and noble wertu of grace and spirituall perfeccioun and thir corporale and sensible thingis has part of similitud w^t^ the wertu of grace and makis significacioun and presentacioun thar of / And ihesus be his gret wisdome has ordanit / þat his hie and noble giftis of grace and wertu be nocht gevin to þe man w^t^out certane forme knawlage and manifestacioun / and þarfor he has ordanit certane thingis sensible and visible as the maner of instrumentis / þat quhen þe man resauis and wsis þame dewly / at þan he sall resaue the wertu of grace / and be sekyr þar of / and it sal [227v] put away þe syn and caus spirituale lif in him And this maner is richt ressonable / for ihesus is baith god and man / þe diuinite is spirituale and insensible his humanite is corporale and sensible And to declar and manifest þis he has gevin ws and ordand sacramentis þat ar sensible and corporale to represent his bodely natur and humanite and contenis and gevis ws grace spirituale and insensible to represent his diuinite and as in ws ar twa na/turis the body þat is corporale / and the saule þat is spirituale Richtsua in our hevinly medycyn that ar þe haly sacramentis suld be thingis corpo/rale and sensible for þe body and spirituall grace contenit in þame for help suple and perfeccioun of þe saule And it is richt conuenient and na merwell þat ihesus ordanit / eftir þat the man had fallin in syn / that he suld recouer þe spirituall grace & perfeccioun be the meyn of bodely and sensible things as þe watter in the bapteme / for quhen god maid first the man in paradice he ordand that he suld cum to glor and blis eternal be the bode/ly things and sensible / þat was abstenand fra þe frute

of the tre of sciens of gud and euill kepand and obeyand to þe *com*mand of god / he suld haue had the glor and blis et*er*nall And þarfor eft*ir* þat the ma*n* had synnyt / and god tuk humanite it was richt *con*uenien*t* for þe humiliacioun of the [228r] ma*n* to ordand sic corporale and sensible thing*is* that the ma*n* obeyand to god / and resauand and hono/rand þai thing*is* / eft*ir* the maner þat god has ordand suld be clengit of syn / and cum to grace wertu and final p*er*feccioun And for caus þat god has ordand to gif grace to ma*n* be meyne of thir sensible and corporale thing*is* Tharfor he has ordanit þame to be hallowit and sanctifiet be his hevinly wourd*is* / that he has gevin to ma*n* for þar sanctificacioun / And þus thir corporale & bodelye thing*is* hallowit and sanctifiet and þe haly wourd*is* of ih*es*u þat ar of gret mycht and strenth to gidd*ir* applyit to ws ar richt *con*uenien*t* and sufficien*t* instru-/men*tis* quhe*n* þai ar applyit to ws for o*ur* sanctificacion to gif ws grace and p*er*feccioun And þus þe ordinance of ih*es*u and his will / þat may no*ch*t be resistit & his haly wourd*is* that may no*ch*t be fals mak*is* a ma*n* sekyr / that quhe*n* he resauis thir haly sac*ra*men*tis* w^{t} w*er*ray faith and deuocioun / that his synnys ar put away and remittit to him / and þat he resauis grace sp*irit*uale and insensible in his saule And sene in a realme na thing is mar sur na the wis ordinaunce of the king and his wourd*is* / and to þir me*n* suld traist Tharfor quhar þou seis þe ordinaunce of ih*es*u king of hevin and his wourd*is* in thir sacramen*tis* / þou suld weill [228v] knaw that this thing may no*ch*t be fals / and that þe wertu of þame is richt excellent and digne / And quhe*n* ih*es*u throu his pite benignite and ardent cherite deit for ma*n*/nis redempcioun he maid þis cu*v*enand w^{t} ma*n* / that quhe*n* he resauit thir sacramen*tis* deuotlie / that he suld be the wertu of his passioun and thir sacramen*tis* that represent*is* it be deliuerit fra his syn / and be in the state of grace And sene sa it is / that quhe*n* the body of the child is fourmyt and disponit in the mod*er*is wame for to resaue the saule / þan god be paccioun / and ordinaunce that he maid to nat*ur* sacretlie w^{t}out ony peticioun or demand creatis þar and producis the saule in the body / þou may wnd*er*stand mekle bett*ir* / sene he has deit for the restauracioun of ma*n* / and ordanit and institut thir haly sac*ra*men*tis* / and gevin þame the wertu of his passioun / and applyis his will his

wertu / and wourd*is* to þame and thar operacioun / þat quhe*n* þe p*er*soune resauis thir sac*ra*me*n*t*is* deuotlie and askis his grace / þat þan he creat*is* þe grace in the saule of the p*er*sone / And it is þe maner of god his haly law ordinaunce and promissioun / þat quhe*n* euir the p*er*soune disponis him to forthink the syn & mak repa/racioun þarfor / that god creat*is* and produc*is* his grace in the saule of the p*er*soune / for his promys he kepis / and his verite is our all thing And þarfor sene god falȝeis neuir to produce and creat þe [229r] saule quhe*n* the natur and body is ordanit[1] and disponit he falȝeis noc*h*t to creat and produce the inuisible grace quhe*n* þe p*er*soune disponis the self and resauis the haly sac*ra*me*n*t*is* / þat his blist sone ihe*s*us has institut and ordanit / for as it was necessar for ma*n*nis saluacioun / that ihe*s*us deit & maid satisfaccioun for him Richt it was and is necessar and co*n*uenie*n*t that the p*er*soune that ihe*s*us redemyt be his passioun glorius war / and be vnyt to him and maid his me*m*ber and se*r*uand familiar and luffit w^{t} him and resauit or resaue his grace be wertu of the sac*ra*me*n*t*is* and þat all this be clerlie declarit and schawin be signis & taky*n*nis *visibilis* and *sensibilis* / þat the faith of þe p*er*soune may be knawin And sene thir corporale thing*is* and sensible as watt*er* oile crisme and v*þir*is sensible thing*is* and mar principaly wourd*is* that god has said and ordand to haue wertu ar instrume*n*t*is* of god to do sic operacioun to put away þe syn / to gif grace and wyrk the saluacioun of ma*n* þai suld be callit and iugit haly þai suld be callit sacrame*n*t*is* and gretlie honorit worschippit / for ihe*s*us werray god and ma*n* has ordand þame for our saluacioun

[229v] This folowand cheptur declar*is* the gret dignite and wertu of the sacrame*nt*is in generale *etc.*

The[1] gret doctour Sanct augustyn[2] in the ferd buk of the hevinly cite of god sais *q*uod *sacramentum est sacrum secretu*m *vel sacre rei signu*m/[3] That is þe sac*ra*me*n*t is a sacret and haly thing for it mak*is* ws haly And the mast*er* of the sentens in the ferd buk in the first distinccioun sais / *q*uod *sacramentum e*st *inuisi/bilis gracie visibilis forma cui*us *s*pecie*m gerit et causa existit*/[4] he sais þat þe sacrame*nt*is of grace and of þe new law and of the euuangell / þat ih*es*us has institut and ordanit ilkane of þame is a sensible thing at is þe forme and figur of sp*irit*ual and hevinly grace / for þe sensible thing is appliit to þe body / and þe sp*irit*ual to þe saule / he sais þat þe sensible thing has similitude and represent*is* of þe sp*irit*uale grace þat is gevin to þe saule / and is þe cause þarof / I wnd*er*stand that þe sp*irit*ual grace is no*ch*t in the sacrame*n*t *subiectiue* sed *sicut in signo*/[5] for þe grace is sp*irit*ual / and is no*ch*t bot in a thing sp*irit*ual Bot sa it is þat eft*ir* the ordinance of ih*es*us / quhe*n* þe p*er*soune deuotlie resauis þe sacrame*n*t god produc*is* and caus*is* the grace in the saule / And þus the [230r] sacrame*n*t is the instrume*n*t of grace þat god gevis to þe p*er*soune be the applicacioun of it / as quhe*n* þe ȝoung barne is weschin and baptist in the watter þat weschin and ablucioun of the barne in þe body signifyis and betaky*n*nis the clengin of the saule fra syn and grace causit of new in the saule of þe child be the wertu of the bapteme / and as sais / *hugo de sancto victore*[6] And the mast*er* of the sente*n*s in the buk*is* of the sentens ih*es*us has ordand and institut þe haly sacrame*nt*is of grace and of the new law for to heill our wound*is* seknes and infirmite / and to gif ws p*er*fit heill wertu and grace in our saule The noble medycinar of þis curacioun is ih*es*us þe sone of god / the hous þat he kepis and conse*r*uis this medycyn / is þe halykyrk / quhar þar is

sp*irit*uale medycyn agane all infirmite / the synnar is the seik ma*n* / þe prest*is* and kyrkme*n* ar se*r*uand*is* to þis noble medycinar The medycyne sp*irit*ual is the hevinly we*r*tu and grace þat god gevis be the applicacioun of thir sacrame*nt*is / and the bust*is* and weschel that *con*tenis this hevinly medycyn ar the corporale formys and sensible / of the sevin sacrame*nt*is / þat ih*es*us has institut and ordand / and the halykyrk richt humely honorablie and deuotlie has resauit þame / for in þame stand*is* the help suple and saluacioun of man And the sacrame*nt*is of the new law of grace / at ih*es*us [230v] the sone of god has ordand and institut in the euua*n*gel ar vii / for as sais the doctour sanct thomas of awquyne thar is vii thing*is* þat gretlie wound*is* & trublis ws / þai ar thre sy*nn*is and four penaliteis The first syn is originale / and agane and incontrar to it is the bapteme The secund syn is veniall and agane þat is extreme vnccioun prope*r*ly The thrid is actuall and mortale and agane þat is ordanit and institut the sacrame*n*t of pe*n*naunce The first penalite is infirmite to gud And agane þat is confirmacioun / The secund penalite is ignoraunce of gud thing*is* and of the verite / and agane þat is þe sacrame*n*t of ordour for he þat has ordour*is* suld be a clerk and haue scie*n*s to informe and teich the pepil / the thrid pena/lite is carnal concupiscens and fleschly desyr of ladeis / and agane þat is the sacrame*n*t of mariage The ferd penalite is affeccioun to waurld/ly thing*is* / and agane that is þe haly sacrame*n*t of the altar þat is the eucharist / þat drawis ws to desyr god and hevinly thing*is* And þus ih*es*us for our medycyn and saluacioun has ordand and institut sevin sacrame*nt*is / that ar bapteme confirmacioun þe haly eucharist pe*n*naunce the ex/treme vnccioun ordour and mariage And as I said befor / the first v of thir ar ordand / for þe pe*r*feccion of a ma*n* in his self / And the last twa for the multiplicacioun of c*r*istin pepil and haly kyrk[1] [231r] for the sp*irit*uale lif is conforme to þe bodely and natu/rale lif And in the bodely lif / first the pe*r*soune is producit in the waurld be generacioun / eft*ir* þat he gett*is* pe*r*fit quantite be augme*n*tacioun and syn nut*r*icioun And gif the ma*n* war ete*r*nale and incurrit na seknes na malady thir sufficit to him / bot becaus he fallis oftymes in seknes he myste*r*is medycyn and tobe helit And richtsua it is in the sp*irit*uale life of the ma*n* / for first he miste*r*is sp*irit*uale generacioun *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex*

aqua et spiritu sancto non potest intrare in regnum dei[1] Alsua he mon haue and grow in perfit wertu be spirituale augmentacioun And þat is be the sacrament of confirmacioun as the apostlis wes confermyt / *luce vltimo* god said to þame / *Sedete in civitate donec induamini virtute ex alto*/[2] And the persoune mon be nurist spiritualy be the haly sacrament of the altar *io vi° Nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis & biberitis eius sanguinem non habebitis vitam in vobis*/[3] And the man mon be helit fra his spirituale seknes / that is mortale and deidly syn *þ*salmus *Sana animam meam quia peccaui tibi Et in euuangelio Penitenciam agite appropinquat enim regnum celorum*/[4] Alsua the man mon be helit baith spiritualy and corporali / and þat dois þe last and extreme vnccioun *iacobi vltimo inf(i)r*/*matur*[5] *quis in vobis*[6] And for the vtilite and proffit of the hail kyrk ar ordand twa sacramentis / Ordour and mariage Be the sacrament of ordour / ar multiplyit [231v] the kyrkmen that ar spirituale and ministeris of the haly sacramentis to þe pepil And be the sacrament of mariage the cristin peple growis and ar multiplyit bodely / and thir sevin lampis of grace and instrumentis of mercy takis þar wertu and strenth first and principaly of god the creator of infinit power and maieste *quis þotest dimittere peccata nisi solus deus*/[7] Alsua þai tak þar wertu and strenth fra þe passioun of blist ihesu / and fra his hie meryt / for þe oblacioun / þat þe noble and blist sone of god ihesu maid to his fader of hevin one þe crose for ws and our redempcioun procedit of incogitable and byrnand cherite Tharfor þar was neuir thing sa accep/table to þe diuinite and fader of hevin / as was that oblacioun / of his blist sone ihesu / and þarfor sais the gret clerk sanct augustyn in þe xxii buk of þe cite of god neir the begynnyng / that þe vii sacramentis procedit of þe syd of ihesu / And the merit of þis glorius passion of ihesu is euir present and acceppit in the hie trone befor the devin maieste And it is be grace and mercy gevin / and redy to him þat disponis him deuly and askis it / And to ony þat resauis ony of thir sacramentis / for þocht the syn offend gretlie þe devin maieste ȝit the merit and passioun of ihesu / plesis him mekle mar w[t]out ony comperisone / *ro* / *v°* / *vbi* / *habundauit delictum super habundauit & gracia*[8] in the glorius passioun of ihesu war figurit / and foundit all the vii sacramentis The baptem in the [232r] watter / that

passit furth of his syd The haly eucha/rist / in the blud þat passit furth of his syd / *Ex latere eius exiuit sanguis et aqua*/[1] The confirma/cioun in that strenth and hardines / þat he passit of his awne fre will / to thole sa cruell and terrible a ded and passioun for ws Pennaunce in the bitter teres he gret for us / prayand to his fader for our saluacioun Ordour for he was baith the preist and bischop þat offerit þe sacrifice / and he was þe hoste and haly oblacioun / and þarfor sais the kyrk / *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis*[2] Mariage in the gene/racioun of the sonnis and dochteris of the kyrk and the pepil in the apercioun and opynnyng of his syd And þe extreme vnccioun / in the gret effusioun of blud þat partit fra al the partis of his body Alsua thir ha/ly sacramentis has gret wertu and efficacite quhen þai ar resauit or gevin in the faith / of the halykyrk w[t] the cherite of him þat resauis þame / for þat causis him to resaue þame w[t] gret effect and proffit to him self / And thir haly sacramentis has gret wertu *ex opere operato* / for throu þe wertu of the promys and ordinance of ihesu / and the faith of the kyrk þai caus grace in the persoune / þat disponis him or makis na resistaunce na puttis na obstakle And in thir sacra/mentis þe bodely and sensible thingis / as þe watter in þe bapteme and þe crisme in the confirmacioun ar the mater of the sacrament / *large capiendo nomen materie*/[3] [232v] And the wourdis that the sacramentis ar hallowit and sanctifiet w[t] ar þe forme of the sacramentis Alsua in all sacrament is requirit þe persoune þat ministeris the sacrament and he haue entencioun to do as the halykyrk trowis in his werk and operacioun And part of thir sacramentis suld haue na iteracioun as þai þat causis a carectar in the persoune þat is a takin in þar saule þat distingis þame fra vthir persounis / as the sacrament of bap/teme of confirmacioun and of ordour A persoune suld nocht be twys baptist na twys confermyt na twys be maid prest And the vthir sacramentis may haue iteracioun / as a man may wse oftymes þe sacrament of pennaunce & vpiris richtsua And part of thir sacramentis ar necessar for þe saluacioun of the persoune / as þe bapteme to put away original syn / and pennaunce agane all actuale deidly syn the laif ar nocht necessar to ilk persoune / bot þai ar richt proffitable and þai suld be gretlie hono/rit

This folowand cheptur tret*is* of þe haly sac*ra*ment of bapteme / and of the wertu & thing*is* p*er*tenand to it *etc.*

[233r] SEne[1] be the Syn of adam all[2] that come of him excep ihesu and his mod*er* / we all / and þai þat ar tocum eft*ir* ws / ar or salbe infekkit for þai ar consa/uit and borne in syn '*p*salmus' *Ecce eni*m *in iniquita / tibus conceptus sum et in* pecca*tis concepit me mat*er *mea*[3] And or the p*er*soune be in the state of p*er*fecciouη this syn mone be put away þarfor ihesus þe sone of god agan this syn originale principaly has ordand remeid and medycyn / þe haly sacrame*n*t of bapteme / and be the wertu of it the p*er*soune is clengit and deliuerit fra syn all filth and offence And quhe*n* þe preist or mi*ni*ster of the bapteme putt*is* þe watt*er* eleme*n*tar on the body of the p*er*soune and sais / *Ego te baptizo in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen*[4] he sais I clenge þi saule and weschis þi body in the name of the fad*er* and of þe sone / and of þe haly spreit / and þis ablucioun done to þe body / and thir wourd*is* sacrame*n*tale signifyis betaky*n*nis and causis the inuisible and sp*irit*uale locioun and clenging of the saule fra all syn that ihesus causis þan creant and produsand þe hevinly grace and wertu / in the saule / for be that grace the saule is maid acceptable to god and iunyt w[t] ihesu / and maid his me*mb*er and incorporate to him / And be the wertu of þis sac*ra*me*n*t of bapteme the p*er*soune is maid the sone of god and heretar of hevin *io primo dedit eis potestatem filios dei fieri hiis qui credunt in nomine* [233v] *eius qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex voluntate carnis aut viri sed qui ex deo nati sunt*[5] þai ar maid þe son*n*is of god be bapteme / and clengit fra all maner of syn / *p*salmus *lauabis me et super niuem dealbabor et dominus dicit qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit*[6] And the p*er*soune resauand this sacrame*n*t resauis a new grace w[t] habundaunce of wertu in the saule Ry*ch*t/sua he resauis ane new name / and is callit Christi*anus* for þe visible thing and sacrame*n*t of the watt*er*

and þe wourd*is* is caus instrume*n*tale of þe inuisible grace in þe saule / and ledis ws in the knawlage and cognoscens tharof / for as þe watt*er* clengis the body fra all filth Rychtsua þe inuisible grace purgis þe saule fra all infec/cioun of syn / and putt*is* away þe sp*iri*tuale myrknes & þe ardor and concupiscence of the flesch it wak*is* / it deliueris þe saule fra pane et*er*nal / and opy*n*nis to it the port of hevinly paradice And in the sac*ra*me*n*t of bapteme ih*es*us discendis to þe saule of the p*er*soune be this maner of grace / and þar ar four thing*is* w*er*tualy þe di*ui*nite of ih*es*u his humanite his deid & passioun and the bapteme þat he ordand / and þai haue þai*m* be this ordour sua þat þe hie and noble gift of grace discend*is* and cu*m*mys doune fra his hie di*ui*nite be his hu*man*ite and be wertu of his glorius passioun / þat was of infinit merit / and it is accepit befor the di*ui*nite our all thing and the wertu of þis glorius passioun is appliit to ws [234r] be the sacrame*n*t of bapteme / sa þat quhe*n* þe haly sac*ra*/me*n*t of bapteme twichis þe p*er*soune þan þe hevinly grace discend*is* be this maner befor said to þe p*er*soune and causis all brichtnes and p*er*feccioun in the saule And þus the bapteme is the ⟨si⟩ instrume*n*t of the passioun of ih*es*u / and causis promys contract / and mariage betuix ih*es*us and þe saule of þe p*er*soune And þus in the bapteme the saule þat was befor the hur and concubyn of þe deuill and innemy of hell / is maid the honorable lady spous & douchter of god / and þarfor þis haly sacrame*n*t of bapteme / suld be richt gretlie honorit / for be the gret wertu of it þe hie and my*ch*ty prince and lord of all creatur has spousit þe saule of ma*n* and woma*n* and þis is a noble excellent and haly mariage / of gret wertu & excelle*n*s for be the wertu & dignite of it / þe gret and hie lord / þe sone of god inmortale werray god & man of infynit power wisdome and gudnes þat of his gret luf benignite and excellent cherite tholit passion and deid for ws þat is sone of the noble & excelle*n*t virgin / has deliuerit þe saule fra þe ⟨body⟩ hevy band*is* of the innemy fra all filth and syn and has maid it sa cleyn / and ornat it w^{t} sa noble and hie w*er*tuis þat he has spousit it and tane it in mar tend*ir* luf and sp*iri*tuale mariage / na ony creatur can speik think writ or consider / And þarfor gret dignite & hono*ur* suld be maid in the bapteme and crystynnyng of a [234v] p*er*soune / and the laute and promys maid to god in that haly mariage suld alway

be kepit / for befor þis sacrament and haly mariage of the saule w^t^ god it was the hur and lemmane of the innemy / and commyttit hevy fornicacioun and adultry w^t^ him and was oblist to pane and dampnacioun eternall / And be the wertu of it / fra all that it is planlie deliuerit / & ascendis to þe spousage and noble mariage of the sone of god and baith is maryit w^t^ his blissit sone / and maid the dochter of god / and als his haly and tendir lady & spous And þis haly sacrament has v richt noble & excellent wertuis and frutis the first frute is remissioun of þe syn originale for it is writtin / 1° Corinthios xv° *Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur ita omnes in cristo viuificabuntur*[1] The secund frute is / þat in þe haly bapteme god gevis for þe honour of his blissit sone ihesu / and the merit of his passioun / all wertu to þe saule / he gevis faith hop cherite / þat ar þe wertuis hevinly / and theologi/cale he gevis þe wertuis morale and cardinale iustice temporaunce strenth and prudence as is declarit in the clementyn *de summa* cristia*nitate & fide catholica*[2] The thrid is the carectar and signe & takin / þat distingis þe cristin saule fra all wthir / and þat takin is richt honorable to þe cristin peple at salbe saif & gret latt and confusioun to þe dampnit pepil Of þis carectar and prent of cristianite spekis þe cheptur *maior*is *de baptismo & eius effectu*[3] The ferd is at be þe wertu of bapteme / all pane ordand for syn twichand dampnacioun is [235r] Releischit and remittit for as sais the apostill Sanct paule be the wertu of bapteme þe man is conformyt to ihesu his master in sepultur / quhen syn deis in him and he is conformytt to ⟨ihesu his maister in sepultur⟩ him alsua in generacioune spirituale he sais / *Consepulti enim sumus cristo per baptismum in mortem*[4] The fift is / that quhen the persoune is baptist the port of hevinly paradice is opynnit to him / and gif the persoune deit þan he passit incontinent to paradice / and þarfor it is said in the euuangell þat quhen ihesus was baptist the hevin was opynnit / to schaw þat þe entra þar is redy to þame that resauis bapteme *Baptizato enim ihesu aperti sunt celi*/[5] And sene þis sacrament is necessar and foundment of all cristianite for in it þe faith is gevin to þe persoune / Tharfor men suld be richt deligent and wys in þe ministracioun of it The mater conuenient to it is the watter naturale and elementar as is þe Rane watter of þe sey / of þe ryver of the well or fontane / of the loch / þe watter þat cummys of the

dew þe snaw hail stanys and ise / And in na vthir liquor may be m*inister*it this sacrame*n*t / nouthir in wyne aill beir Ole vryn brv spittin suettin stellit watt*er*is as rose watt*er* or vp*er*is na ȝit in þe yse snaw hailstanis / quhil þai be t*ur*nyt in watt*er* / þe forme of the kyrk of rome and latin me*n* vsis in the mi*n*istracioun of bapteme is / *Ego te baptizo in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti amen*[1] And þarfor þis forme is gevin in the canone law *extra de baptis/mo et eius effectu si quis*[2] And the curat and meid wif suld knaw þis forme and gif the barne be no*ch*t [235v] in peral þai suld byd the werray m*inister* to baptis it / and gif it be in p*er*ell / þe lawde pepill ma*n* or woma*n* may baptize it / and is oblist þar to / and þai be present & knaw the perale / þat the barne is in / for and þou se a pur body in p*er*ell for mister of mete / and may help him / and do it no*ch*t / þou sy*n*nis and is caus of his deid gif he deis for mister / and þou sal be accusit þar of / and mekle mar and the saule of the barne be in p*er*ell of tinsale or damp/nacioun / and þou may help and saif it gevand it bapteme and do it no*ch*t þou may weill knaw and wnd*er*stand þat þou sy*n*nis richt gretlie / and þarfor it is gud / þat þe sempil peple knaw and wnd*er*stand þe mat*er* & forme of þis sacrame*n*t and necessite þarof and the prolacioun and formacioun of the wourd*is* sac*ra*me*n*tale *Ego te baptizo*[3] And the aspersioun and ablucioun of the barne or p*er*soune w^t^ the watt*er* suld be done to gidd*ir* / and agane and incontrar þe gret dignite of this haly sacrame*n*t of bapteme / has bene gret heresiis / Ane was þe herresie of þame that was callit *soleuciani* / þat said that þe sp*irit*ual bapteme and no*ch*t in watt*er* / and in contrar þis herresie sais god *io iii*^o^ *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu sancto non intrabit in regnum celorum*/[4] The secund was the herresie of the donatist*is* / þat sais þat þar is bot a maner of pepil / & sek of ane opi*n*ion that may gif and mi*n*ist*er* the bapteme / and wthir cr*is*tin pepil may no*ch*t do it / agane þame and þar herresie / sais the apostill þe ferd cheptur *Ad Ephe* / *vna fides vnum* [236r] *baptisma*[5] Alsua thir herretik*is* donatist*is* said that a synnar my*ch*t no*ch*t mi*n*ist*er* the bapteme na vthir sac*ra*mentis and agane and incontrar to þis herresie is w*r*ittin / *io primo Super quem videritis spiritum discendentem et manentem super eum hic est qui baptizat* / *i.e. cristus ihesus*/[6] And gif it be no*ch*t the ma*n*nis awne faute in resauand the sac*ra*/me*n*t*is* / it hurt*is* him no*ch*t /

þocht the minister be of euill lif / for ihesus is gud þat is the principale gevar & minister of the sacramentis / And sa is his passioun gud & haly þat þai tak þar wertu of / Ane vthir herresie inducit þe herretiks pelagius and his followaris / þat said þat the bapteme was nocht necessar to put away the syn bot þat it was gud to help þe fre arbiter and liberte and agane þis is the euuangell and doctrin of ihesu / *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & spiritu sancto non intrabit in reqnum celorum et iterum / qui credi|derit et baptizatus fuerit saluus erit / qui vero non crediderit condampnabitur*[1] and the gret creid / *Confi|teor vnum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum|*[2] And this sacrament is port and entra of all the laif of þe sacramentis

This cheptur folowand declar*is* the wertu of the secund sac*ra*ame*n*t at is confirmacioun *etc.*

[236v] IN[1] the precedent I haue declarit/[2] how be the w*er*tu of þe sac*ra*ame*n*t of baptem þe persoune in his saule is sp*irit*ualy generit and ente*r*is in ane new lif sp*irit*ual / and as I declarit in the cheptur precedent the man*er* of knawlag*e* of ma*n* is to proced fra þe knawlage of the bodely and sensible thing*is* to þe knawlage of thing*is* sp*irit*uale and insensible þat teichis þe philosophour arestotil *in primo phi*sicor*u*m / and mony vthir p*ar*t*is* of his philosophy *Non en*im *ead*em *sunt nobis nota & nature vnde proce*/*dendum est ex nocioribus & cercioribus nobis ad ea que sunt nociora et cerciora nature*/[3] And þat he scha/wis in the *posteriorum* and in þe proheme of methaphesik and the apostill sais / *inuisibilia dei per ea que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur*/[4] And sene the thing*is* corpo/rale and sensible has p*ar*t of similitud & *con*ueni*en*s w[t] the thing*is* sp*irit*uale and intellectuale I will proced in this buk / als fer as I can be this way to caus þe cr*is*tin peple clerk*is* and wther*is* to wnd*er*stand the sp*irit*uale and hevinly w*er*tuis of the haly sac*ra*me*nt*is of ih*es*u / þat he has institut and ordand / and ar fontan*is* of lif procedand / fra þe gret fontane watt*er* and sey of his glorius passioun / and I sal laubour to proceid als clerly and fructuisly i*n* thir mat*er*is / as ony doctour*is* / that I haue red befor / for in thir vii sacrame*nt*is that ar hevinly medycinis / and lampis and weschalis of grace stand*is* / all our help and [237r] saluacioun / And þarfor the sciens and knawlage of þame / and digne wse and applicacioun is the ry*ch*t way to paradice / and discendand to þe p*ur*pos / as þar is twa man*er* of liff*is* in a man[5] that is corporale & sp*irit*uale / sene he is maid of the bodely natur an*en*s his body / and sp*irit*uale an*en*s his saule / Richtsua þar is in him twa maner of generacioun*is* and nati*ui*teis that is sp*irit*uale and corporale / and twa man*er* of augme*n*tacioun corporale and sp*irit*uale twa maner of agis / and richtsua of mony vthir thing*is* And þarfor consid*er*and and seand / the thing*is* þat ar in the bodely lif and corporale in the bodely augme*n*tacioun &

vthir sic thing*is* / we may ascend and knaw þe sp*iri*tuale lif generacioun nati*u*ite augmen*ta*cioun and vthir sic thing*is* sp*iri*tuale of the ma*n* / And sene we se in the bodely and naturale lif / the ma*n* is first pro/ducit be naturale generacioun / and eft*ir* that he tak*is* augmen*ta*cioun / quhil he cum to p*er*fit quantite and age / and befor þat he may noc*h*t wyrk p*er*fit ope/racioun in his body / Richts(u)a[1] it is in the sp*iri*tuale lif of the saule / for first þe saule is producit and generit in the sp*iri*tuale lif of grace be the w*er*tu of the sac*ra*men*t* of bapteme / and eft*ir* þe sp*iri*tual gene/racioun of the saule it resauis augmen*ta*cioun strenth and fortificacioun in þe sp*iri*tuale lif to wyrk p*er*fit operacioun p*er*tenand to þe sp*iri*tuale lif and þ*at* [237v] is be the wertu of the haly sacramen*t* of confirma/cioun / for as þe bapteme causis sp*iri*tuale generacioun sa dois the confirmacioun sp*iri*tuale augmen*ta*cioun it strenthis þe p*er*soune to graunt and defend the faith and name of ih*es*u / and mak*is* the p*er*soune a hardy kny*ch*t and ma*n* of battale i*n* ih*es*us caus / And sene this operacioun sp*iri*tual is distingit fra the operacioun / þat þe sac*ra*men*t* of bapteme caus*is* this sac*ra*men*t* is a distinct sac*ra*men*t* / and vthir þa*n* is þe bapteme / for god kepis als mekle and mar the ordour of p*er*feccioun in sp*iri*tuale thing*is* / as he dois i*n* na/turale and bodely thing*is* And sene the ma*n* eft*ir* the bapteme / and sp*iri*tuale generacioun in the lif of grace may s*er*ue and defend his souuerane king & lord ih*es*u / it is necessar þat he feicht and mak battall agane the innemeis of ih*es*u / and of his faith / baith the sp*iri*tuale innemeis and bodely / and it is necessar þat he defend ma*n*ifestlie w^{t} strenth fortitud & hardiness w^{t}out outhir schame or dreid / þe haly faith & name of ih*es*u sene he is a me*m*ber and s*er*uand of his And þarfor to do þis hardely ih*es*us þat is werray god of infinit power has ordand to him a grace þat confermes / and mak*is* him constaunt in his caus mat*er* and defence And as in the sac*ra*men*t* of bapteme the corporale and sensible sacramen*t* led*is* ws in þe knawlag*e* and cognicioun of the sp*iri*tuale wertu / þat it causis as caus instrumen*t*ale / Richtsua in this sac*ra*men*t* of confirmacioun þe corporale and sensible sacramen*t* led*is* [238r] ws in the knawlage of the sp*iri*tuale grace / þat it signifies and is instrumen*t* and caus of / The mat*er* of this sac*ra*men*t* is crisme *con*fect of þe oile / and þat betaky*n*nis the clernes of the saule / and consci*en*s of the

persoune And als it is confect and maid of the balme / þat signifiis and betakynnis þe odour and sueit sauour / and smelling of gud fame and honour of the persoune The wourdis þat þe bischop wsis in the ministracioun of this sacrament ar þe forme of it / and þai ar thir wourdis / *Consigno te signo crucis et confirmo te crismate salutis in nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti Amen* And sene the crisme is maid of þe oile of þe olive & of the balme And it is a thing corporale visible & sensible / and sa is the vnccioun at the bischop & prelat makis in the foret of the persoune And the wourdis þat signifyis and betakynnis þe interior / & spirituale operacioun ar sensible / Tharfor be all thir we may argwne / þe gret 'vertuis' ⟨werkis⟩[1] þat thir wyrkis in the saule of the persoune we se in the first / that þe ole ascendis abone þe watter Richtsua the grace þat þis sacrament signifyis / and wyrkis ascendis mekle abone þe grace þat is gevin be the bapteme of watter for þe grace of bapteme is gevin to purefie and clenge the saule / and þis grace of confirmacioun / is gevin to strenth and fortefye þe saule in battal agan the innemy / for the faith name and honour of ihesu the noble Ole of the olive / causis þe watter to haue [238v] bettir sauour and gust Richtsua the grace þat is gevin in þis sacrament causis the man to haue mar suetnes and dilectacioun in ihesu ⟨and⟩ 'in' his faith and defens of his haly name / and be it the man has gret fame and honour in his lif / and all his operacioun And þis grace makis him able to haue conuersacioun w[t] all the pepil And þe oile of the olive is gretlie extendit for at a part of it / may be mar extendit na mekle watter in sauour / and multiplicacioun betakynnis that be the wertu of this sacrament of confirmacioun the name of ihesu is exaltit and honorit in the hartis of mony pepil The noble olive tre has euir wertu & veredite in it / Richtsua þe grace þat this sacrament gevis to þe man causis him tobe ay stark constaunt and victorius / in the caus and battale of god/ / and in the defence of the honour of ihesu and for na aduersite nor truble may be turnit þarfra / The oile of the olive tre is linitive sueit to woundis seknes metis and mony vthir thingis Richtsua the grace of the haly spreit gevin be wertu of þis sacrament makis þe man dulce sueit and mercifull in his conuersa/cioun / baith w[t] gud persounis and euill / to conferme þe gud peple in þar wertu / and be wertu & meknes and be gud

exampil to turne the euill / and as þe noble balme / þat is myngit w^{t} the oile is preci*us* [239r] in odour sauo*ur* and suetnes And the wertu of it is p*er*sauit in ce*r*tane distanis Richtsua the grace of confirma/cioun exaltis þe haly name of ih*es*u / and causis it to be resauit / w^{t} all sueitnes hono*ur* and beneuole*n*s And þus may weill appeir / how þis vnccioun visible maid in þe body of the p*er*soune in the forret / w^{t} crisme is richt proporcionat to þe inuisible vnc/cioun / that god wyrk*is* w^{t}in the saule / throw the operacioun and grace of the haly spreit / baith in significacioun and presentacioun And þis haly sac*ra*me*n*t of confirmacioun is maid in the face and forret of the p*er*soune for significacioun & witnessing þat in þis sacrame*n*t is gevin grace habundanly to confes þe name of ih*es*u manifestlie w^{t} gret fortitude w^{t}out dred schame or Erubescence And we se þat quhe*n* a p*er*soune is deput and ordand to þe battal or cheualry he resauis a takin of hono*ur* on him for þat caus / as giltyn spurr*is* in kny*ch*theid or v*ir* takin / eft*ir* þe diu*er*site of diu*er*s pepil & realmes And þai of a realme quhe*n* þai pas to battale beris the takin of þat realme as Sanct andros cors Sanct denys or sanct georg*is* cors þarfor the noble and cheualrous kny*ch*t*is* of ih*es*u þat ar confermyt and ordand to feicht and mak bat/tale for him has the takin of ihesu in þar face and in thar forret of the p*er*soune / for in þat part apper*is* sonest þe hardines & tymidite [239v] that is the dreid of the p*er*soune / and the croce of ih*es*u is maid in the forret of the p*er*soune to schaw & betak*in* that the passioun of ih*es*u was richt schamfull in þe tym and ignomini*us* for as sais þe apostil sanct paule it was / *iudeis scandalum gentibus autem stulticia* / Bot we suld hono*ur* and defend it in all o*ur* power and mycht *q*uia *nobis dei virtus at*que *sapiencia* / And þarfor þe croce is maid in the visage and forret of the p*er*soune And alsua it signifyis / þat þe p*er*soune suld be sa stark þat for the hono*ur* of ih*es*u and his name for þe defence of his haly faith and law / he wauld susteyne þe passioun and all man*er* of deid / þat mycht be put on him / And na m*er*well is that þe hardy kny*ch*t of ih*es*u / bar planlie in his forret the ban*er* & victorial takin of his souuerane lord / and god ih*es*u / þat is the takin triu*m*phale of þe cors / quharon he ourcome all the innemeis / and þe gret wertu and strenth of this sac*ra*me*n*t of confirmacioun apperit in the haly apostlis of ih*es*u þat befor þar confirmacioun

þai dred the iowis / and preichit noc*h*t the faith of ihesu / *q*uia *fores erat clause* p*r*opte*r metum iudeorum* / as sais the halyscr*i*ptur / and / ihesu said to þame / *luce vltimo Sedete in ciuitate donec induamini virtute ex alto* Bot eft*ir* þar confirma/cioun / and the missioun of the haly spreit to þame þai preichit the euuangel / and the law of ihesu w^{t} gret strenth and hardines / and w^{t}out ony dreid / *q*uia *loquebantur cum fiducia / et iterum in libro actuum / ibant apostoli* [240r] *gaudentes a conspectu consilii q*uoni*am digni habiti sunt pro nomine ihesu contumeliam pati* The first effect of þis sacrament is *impressio caracter*is / þat is a takin i*n* the saule / that he þat is confermyt is a knyc*h*t of ihesu The secund is ane new infusioun of new grace sac*r*amen*t*ale for it oblis*is* þe p*er*soune to a gret werk and operacioun þat I haue schawin befor *de consecracione distinccione v. c. Nouissime* is said that in the confirmacioun is gevin the haly spreit *Et septiformis gracia / cum plenitudine* sanctitat*is* The thrid is þat in the confir/macioun is causit cognacioun sp*irit*uale as in the bapteme / and þis sacrament may be gevin to men and women / and to barnis / quhen þai cum to knawlage as vii ȝer / and eft*ir* And þis sac*r*amen*t* is rycht prof/fitable / and þai þat contempnis to resaue it sy*n*nis richt gretlie / and agane þe mi*nist*er of this sacrament Errit þe grek*is* / and said þat a preist that is noc*h*t bischop may mi*nist*er þis sacrament and conferme the p*er*soune / and þis twichis *armacanus primas yber/nie in questionibus armeniorum* / bot incontrar and agane this is writtin *actuum octauo* / that þe apostlis fand Sanct petir and sanct iohne / that war apostlis and þai confermyt þame þat war baptist / and þe bischoppis succed*is* in the kyrk in the place of the apostlis *Et vbi apostoli imponebant manus & dabant spiritum sanctum Episcopi confirmant & dant spiritum sanctum* / And now I will speik of the haly Sacrament of the alter [240v] that is þe nurising sp*irit*uale of the saule

This folowand cheptur declar*is* þe haly sac*ra*me*n*t of þe body & blud of ih*es*u þat is *viaticum* And is the sacrame*n*t of vnioun & com*mun*ioun / for be the wertu of þis sacrame*n*t the p*er*soune is vnit w^{t} ih*es*u / and his me*m*/bris *etc.*

As^{l} I haue declarit befor the sp*irit*uale lif of the saule is conforme to þe natu/rale and bodely lif / and as in the na/turale and bodely lif first is requirit generacioun / of the p*er*soune and eft*ir* augme*n*tacioun throu þe quhilk þe p*er*soune cu*mm*ys to p*er*feccioun of qua*n*/tite / and of operacioun Alsua is requirit nurising and alicioun / for it cons*er*uis the p*er*soune in the p*er*fec/cioun and state And conformand to þis in the sp*irit*uale lif / first was requirit generacioun / þat is i*n* the bapteme / and eft*ir* confirmacioun that is sp*irit*ual augme*n*/tacioun / Richtsua richt necessar and *con*uenie*n*t is þat þar be a sacrame*n*t / þat is sp*irit*ual nut*ri*cioun and alicioun / that þe p*er*soune haue complem*en*t / and p*er*feccioun in sp*irit*uale lif / And sene the luf of god / and cherite [241r] is the werray nurising / and sp*irit*uale lif of the saule / for of þis cherite and ardent luf of god cu*mm*ys the lif of the saule / all plesaunce frute and dilectacioun And sene in the realme of ih*es*u / and the halykyrk þe final p*er*feccioun and conplem*en*t heir / is that þe haly pepil be *con*iunyt and vnyt w^{t} god and ih*es*u þar souuerane lord and king / and als ilk ane of the cr*is*tin pepil w^{t} wthir / for that is requirit in al gud policy and realme / as schawis richt clerlie arestotil in polethik*is* / And vnioun is mast p*er*fitlie be luf & cherite / for w^{t}out it / it can noc*h*t be / þarfor all the pepil of god and of ih*es*u / suld luf him our all thing / for he is þar Sou*er*ane lord and king þar creator þar redemptor and ⟨Souuerane⟩ gou*er*nou*r* / And the ardent luf þai haue to him / suld be caus that the pepil of his realme ar callit cr*is*tin pepil / ilkane suld luf vthir / ellis in his realme war na luf na concord bot discord & discensioun and battale / that *con*uenis

noc*h*t to þe noble police and weill gou*er*nit realme / and spec*i*aly of sic a lord & king as god is / full of all power wisdome & benignite And sene luf is sa stark a thing / þat it drawis all the hart and mynd of the p*er*soune to þe thing that he lufis / and gif he lufis richt ardentlie ony p*er*soune / he lufis alsua þame þat ar wer*t*uis and at þat p*er*sone lufis / þarfor gif þou luf*is* god p*er*fitlie and be werray cherite / þou lufis his cr*i*stin pepil that he lufis / and has sic hartlie kindnes to / þat for þar luf & redempcioun he has deit on the croce And þarfor it is necessar [241v] þat thar be a noble and haly sacrame*n*t / that be the wertu of it vnis the cr*i*stin pepil w^{t} god and ihesu þar creatur and redemptour / and eu*ir*ilkane of þame w^{t} vthir and sene ilk cr*i*stin ma*n* or woma*n* is maid me*m*ber of ihesu in the bapteme / and he þar heid / and the mar þat ilkane of þame be vnit w^{t} ih*e*su / þe mar ilkane of þa*im* is vnit w^{t} vthir Tharfor þis haly sac*r*ame*n*t þ*a*t vnis þa*im* p*er*fitlie w^{t} ih*e*su vnys ilkane of þame w^{t} vthir / for as we se that þe naturall and bodely nurysing is wroc*h*t be the wertu of the naturale heit of the stomok / and the p*er*soune Richtsua the sp*iri*tuale nut*ri*cioun of the saule is wroucht and done / be the sp*iri*tual heit / þat is luf and cherite / and as the natural heit turnys & chang*is* þe nut*ri*me*n*t in the natur of the p*er*soune / Richtsua the luf of ih*e*su chang*is* the p*er*soune and turnis him fra syn / and drawis him to folow his will and ordinance And þar is gret difference betuix þe bodely nurysing and the sp*iri*tuale / for in the bodely nurysing / þe mete & nut*ri*me*n*t is turnit / in the natur of the p*er*soune / þat it is nurist / as breid wyn fisch or flesch / bot it is all vthir way in the sp*iri*tuale nurising / for in it the p*er*soune þat is nurist is turnit to þe will condicion and plesaunce of the nut*ri*me*n*t / for þe sp*iri*tuale nut*ri*me*n*t is ih*e*sus / þat turnis þe p*er*soune to his will and plesaunce and ressoune is / for þe sp*iri*tuale nut*ri*cioun is done be luf / and þou seis þat a thing þat þou lufis richt ardently / as ma*n* or woma*n* / drawis þe to þe will [242r] and plesaunce of it / þou seis in nut*ri*cioun euir changeing And sene ih*e*sus is god and may noc*h*t be changit in his devin natur and in his humanite / he is now i*n*mortale and inpassible / and he is þe sp*iri*tuale nurising / full of all wertu cherite and gudnes Tharfor it is richt *con*uenie*n*t & expedient to ws þat we be chaungit in him and he noc*h*t in ws / þat is sp*iri*tualy / that we conforme

our will our lif & con/dicioun to him and noc*h*t he conforme him to ws / for his noble we*r*tuis / may noc*h*t nor suld noc*h*t be changit And þ*us* ih*es*us þat is þe sp*iri*tuale nurising turnis his pepil / and þai grow in sp*iri*tuale lif & wertu *Et sic crescit corpus eius misticum* And the luf of ih*es*u / þat is þar heid / and nurising sp*iri*tuale growis in the hart*is* of his pepil / and for þis sp*iri*tuale nut*ri*cioun of his pepil ih*es*us has institut and ordand þis haly sacrame*n*t þat contenis the p*re*cius body and blud of ih*es*u And in this haly sac*ra*me*n*t is present in werray real presens and verite þe haly body of ih*es*u / þat is in hevin / his precius blude his haly saule his prop*er* p*er*soune in his d(ei)te[1] And sene i*n* eu*ir*ilk sac*ra*me*n*t / as I haue declarit befor / þar is a thing corporale sensible and visible / and als a ⟨i⟩ thin(g)[2] sp*iri*tuale and insensible / and the thing corpo/rale and sensible led*is* in the knawlage / of þe thing*is* sp*iri*tuale and insensible / Richtsua in this haly sac*ra*me*n*t of the eucharist / þat is þe haly body of ihesu [242v] thir thing*is* ar baith corporale sensible and visible / and als thing*is* sp*iri*tuale insensible and inuisible And þe thing*is* sensible in all thir sacrame*n*t*is* / ar a leddir to clym wp to þe knawlage of the thing*is* sp*iri*tuale and insensible And as I haue declarit þis in the twa sac*ra*me*n*t*is* precedent / sa will I do i*n* þ*is* haly sac*ra*me*n*t / for richt as in the sac*ra*me*n*t of bapteme þe watt*er* þe ablucion and the wourd*is* ar sensible / and in the sac*ra*me*n*t of confirmacioun the crisme þe vle and vnccioun / and the wourd*is* ordand þarfor ar sensible Richtsua i*n* þ*is* haly sac*ra*me*n*t þe forme of the breid and of the wyn & the wourd*is* þat ih*es*us ordand for consecracioun ar sensible Alsua þar is visible ma*n*ducacioun in this sacrame*n*t / Alsua in this sac*ra*me*n*t ar thing*is* insensible & inuisible / for in it is weraly the haly body of ihesu his precius blud and ih*es*us is present in it baith god and ma*n* / þe sa*mmy*n p*er*soune þat is in hevin / bot heir is he noc*h*t sensible ⟨and⟩ 'nor' visible to ws / Bot gret differe*n*s þar is betuix þe thing*is* visible of vþir sacrame*n*tis and of þis / and als *inuisibilis* and *insensibilis* / in þe bapteme þe watt*er* remanis / in the confirmacioun[3] re/manis þe crisme / bot in this sac*ra*me*n*t nouthir rema/nis þe breid na the wyne / bot þe forme & accedent*is* þat war befor in þame remanis / *sine subiecto* w[t]out þe substaunce of þe breid or of the wyn be mirakle The ressoune of þis is / for the wourd*is* consecratiue of þ*is* sacrame*n*t ar of vth*ir*

condicioun / na in the vth*ir* sac*ramentis*[1] [243r] for the wourd*is* consecratiue in the bapteme and confirma/cioun signifiis and betaky*nn*is the werk and operacioun / þat is done in the saule / as þou may weill wnd*er*stand be tham and no*cht* in þe watt*er* na in þe crisme / bot the wourd*is* conse/cratiue in this sacrame*nt* signifiis inuisible operacioun in the corporale and sensible thing*is* / as in the breid and wyn for þai signify þe werray real transmutacioun of þe breid and wyn in the haly body and blud of ih*es*u / for þe wourd*is* consecratiue / in þis haly sacrame*nt* is the maist noble and wourthi / of all the sacrame*ntis* / has na les wertu / na has þe wourd*is* in the bapteme in the confirmacioun & vthir sac*ramentis* / bot quh*en* þe wourd*is* ar proferrit in the bapteme or in the laif of the sacrame*ntis* / þar is causit in the saule be the wertu of þame ⟨thing*is* insensible⟩ þat is be the di*uinite* / þat is present and wsis þame as instrume*ntis* and be applicacioune of þame thing*is* insensible ar causit as grace wertu and vþ*ir* thing*is* / þarfor quh*en* þe wourd*is* consecratiue of this haly sacrame*nt* ar proferrit apone þe breid and wyn / þar is maid be wertu of þe di*uinite* reale transmutacioun / sa þat þe breid þat befor was þar vnd*er* þe quhitnes Rotundite and quantite is no*cht* þar eft*ir* / na ȝit in the waurld And richtsua of the wyne / for þe wourd*is* consecratiue signifyis and beta/ky*nn*is that the breid is turnit in the body of ih*es*u / and the wyne in his blud / for vnd*er* þe figur of the breid / befor was þe werray substaunce of þe breid / and eft*ir* it is no*cht* þar / but quhar it was / eft*ir* is þe werray body [243v] of ih*es*u and richtsua of the wyn / and of þe precius blud of ihesu / for eft*ir* the wourd*is* ar fourmyt / þar is na wyn bot the sapour and colour of it And quhar the wyn wes / þan is þe werray blud of ih*es*u / and al this is done be mirakle and wertu of the di*uinite* / for and it war no*cht* þus the wourd*is* consecratiue / and forme of this sacrame*nt* war fals and ih*es*us þat ordand and institut þame / and proferrit þame in the first consecracioun / had bene a lear and þat may no*cht* be for he is god of verite / þat may no*cht* le / and na creatur may resist to his will & ordinaunce / And þarfor his wourd*is* ar verite / and all that he ordan*is* and wil be done in the creatur*is* þat is done Alsua ih*es*us is baith god and ma*n* / þarfor his wourd*is* ar of mar wertu and strenth þan the wourd*is* of a creatur or of a ma*n* / bot the wourd*is* of a ma*n* has

þar sig*n*ifica/cioun quhilis trew quhilis fals / bot the wourd of a ma*n* causis na mutacioun in the thing þat þai betaki*n* as arestotill sais ⟨*prir*⟩ *peri*arminia*s Propter nostrum affirmare vel negare nichil mutatur in Re* Tharfor þe wourd*is* of ihesu / þat is werray god / ar euir trew and ar operatiue of the thing þat þai betakin / and signifyis / quia *ipse dixit et facta sunt ipse mandauit et creata sunt vniversa / & deus dixit / fiat lux et facta est lux etc. genesis primo /* þarfor the wourd*is* sac*ra*me*n*talis þat ihesus institut & ordand þai signifie and als causis þe thing þat þai signifie And the wourd*is* of ihesu signifyis in this sacrament [244r] that þe breid and wyne ar transmutit / in the haly body of ihesu / and in his precius blud The body vnd*er* þe forme and figur of bred / and þe blud vnd*er* þe figur of the wyn / *er*go þe haly and pissand wourd*is* of ihesu causis þat quia *non erit impossibile apud deum omne verbum* / as the angell gabriel said to þe virgin And sene we se þat a creatur / has power to chaung*e* ane vthir in the natur of it / as the natur of the ma*n* turnis þe breid & wyn in the flesch or blud we suld weill wnd*er*stand / þat the wourd*is* of ihesu and is werray god / þat ar ordand spec*i*aly tharfor / and signifyis that / and may nocht be fals / has power to chaung*e* the breid in the body of ihesu / and the wyn in his precius blud / and sene þe wourd of god was and is of sic power / þat it maid the waurld of nocht / þe angellis þe hevin þe Erd and all creatur*is* / his wourd gevin and ordand be ihesu his sone of equale power / and wisdome / had power to chaung þe breid and ⟨sy⟩ wyn / fra þar natur and substaunce / and turne and gar succed the blissit body of ihesu / and his blud in þar place vnder þe sa*m*my*n* figur accedens and similitude And all this is done be werray luf amour and cherite / for na thing may caus mar luf and cherite in ws or draw ws to him / na same/kle as the presens of the di*u*inite and of ihesu / in this sacrame*n*t in his hu*m*anite / and þus in þis haly sac*ra*me*n*t first war breid and wyn / and syn þe distruccioun of þai*m* [244v] and transmutacioun in the body and blud of ihesu be the wertu of the di*u*inite / throu þe wertu of the wourd*is* of ihesu / and eft*ir* þat / þar is þe visible manducacioun and bibicioun of the body and precius blud of ihesu And as I said thir visible thing*is* signifyis the thing*is* inuisible and led*is* ws in the knawlage of þame Tharfor we may wnd*er*stand / þat as the breid and wyn / ar the nut*ri*cioun

and refeccioun of þe body Richtsua þe haly body of ihesu and his precius blud / and his persoune contenit in this sacrament / ar the perfit refeccioun and nutricioun of the saule spirituale / þe breid of quhete sustenis þe body and the wyn blithis þe persoune Richtsua the body of ihesu resauit in this sacrament sustenis and blithis þe saule in all thing in spirituale lif / and in all vthir wertu and grace þe breid is maid and confect / of mony quhet cornys / Richtsua the wyn of mony rasingis and beriis / and richtsua þe 'cristin' peple and mistice body of ihesu be the wertu of þis sacra/ment ar vnyt all in luf and cherite amang þar self and w[t] ihesu / þar god saluator & redemptor And all this is done be werray perfit luf / and þus þe figur and forme of the breid and wyn in þis sacrament signifyis and betakynnis twa thingis *inuisibilis* / þat ar the werray body naturale of ihesu / and als the cristin pepil þat is *Corpus* Christi *misticum* The first is realy vnder þe figur of the breid and the wyn And the secund bot be significacioun / and þarfor as [245r] I said befor this is þe sacrament of vnxioun[1] and comu/nioun[2] of cristin pepil / and the transmutacioun of the breid / and þe wyne in the body of ihesu and his precius blud signifyis and betakynnis / þat þe cristin peple suld chang þar manеris thar lif ⟨þ⟩ & condicioun / and turne to þe lif and ordinaunce of ihesu and to þe obser/uacioun of his law / and as sanct paule sais / *ad Corinthios Sicut per vnum hominem mors intrauit in orbem terrarum ita per vnum hominem resurreccio mortuorum / & sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur ita in* Christo *omnes viuificabuntur* And sene the corporale thingis / ar chaungit and turnit in the haly body of ihesu / and his precius blud / we suld now comper his haly body and flesch / and als þe flesch & body of Adam / to þe saulis of the pepil / we knaw at the saule is mar principale / na the body / and þe body is ordand for þe saule / as þe philosophour natu/rale arestotil / declaris in the secund buk of phesic / and in the secund / *de anima* And it is verite and conforme to þe doctrine of ihesu / and of theologi And sene þar was twa men of diuers condicionis and of a natur Adam þe first man and ihesus The first distroyit all the humane linage be syn / the topir / ihesus reparit all / Tharfor we mone graunt / þat þe carnale natur of Adam and þe haly humanite and body of ihesu / had contrar and repugnaunt condicionis / for eftir þe syn of

Adam all the corrupcioun / þat the saule had in vnioun to þe body / it tuk of the corrupit natur þat disce*n*dit |245v| of adam / be full wnhonest and libidi*n*use generacioun and in þat generacioun is all the rute and foundme*n*t of our syn and corrupcioun / þarfor sene verite is / and the medicinar*is* sais / *q*uod *contraria* contrar*iis* *curantur* it is *con*uenie*n*t and necessar / þat þe saulis and pepil of ihesu tak þar reparacioun þar purificacioun þar clengin and p*er*fecciou*n* / of þar vnioun and *coniun*ccioun of þe saule of the ma*n* w^{t} the body and flesch of ih*es*u consauit and generit / w^{t}out ony syn or corrupcioun / bot be the werk and operacioun of the haly spreit / be ressoune suld be caus of all gud and halines sene the *coniun*ccioun of þe saule / *con*iunyt w^{t} the body discendand of corrupit Adam wes and is the caus of our euill & wikkit inclinacioun / and gif the saul suld ony way be punyst for þe vnioun and *coniun*ccioun of it w^{t} the corrupit natur flesch and body þat discendit of Adam be all maner of ressoune þe saule *con*iunyt w^{t} the body of ih*es*u Consauit in cleir virginite vnyt and maryit w^{t} his haly saule and di*ui*nite / suld be deliuerit fra all syn and suld be full of wertu and all p*er*fecciou*n* / for the haly body humanite saule and flesch of ih*es*u / all the merit*is* and torme*n*t*is* þat þai sufferit in þe glorius passioun gevis to all þe saulis þat ar *con*iunyt w^{t} be wertu and com*mun*icacioun / of þis haly sacrame*n*t / and as þe flesch and body of Adam was þe rute fontane ark and kest of all our corrupcioun sy*n*nis and trespassis of infynit / mar strenth is in þe haly body of ihesu [246r] and his precius flesch and blud / it is þe ark þe fontane þe tressour and conse*r*uacioun of all wertu & grace *io primo Verbum caro factum est et habitauit in nobis* And as the generacioun / and flesch cu*m*myn of Adam / and þe inclinacioun þar of devid*is* and seuer*is* þe saule fra god be mar ressoune and strenth / þe haly body and flesch of ih*es*u / seueris þe saule fra the innemy / and iunys it w^{t} god / for it is *con*iunyt w^{t} the di*ui*nite / And þus ih*es*us be wertu of his flesch and blud in this sac*ra*me*n*t ourcu*m*mys the innemy / and drawis þe saulis of the pepill to him And discendand ferrar and procedand in this mat*er* the saule of the ma*n* has twa habitud*is* and fallouschippis w^{t} the body / þat it is vnyt and iunyt w^{t} / þe fyrst is naturale / quhe*n* it is first creatand iunyt w^{t} the body / w^{t}out þe knawlage þar of and prop*er* consent And be this

vnioun þe saule and the body constitut*is* and mak*is* a p*er*soune / and þe saule is filit in the body and infekit w^{t} syn original / And our þis þar is ane vthir vnioun and fallouschip / þat þe saule has w^{t} the body þat is voluntar / and be the prope*r* conse*n*t of the saule / that is quhe*n* þe saule be þe awne will and prop*er* arbite*r* consent*is* to þe plesaunce and fleschly dilectacioun of the body / and lufis þe turpitude and the wnhoneste of the flesch / And sene þe saule suld haue þe vic*is* and wnhoneste / and turpitud of the flesch in hatrent / And neuirtheles it tak*is* plesaunce in þame & *con*sent*is* / Tharfor it incurr*is* gret syn / and mekle [246v] mar na be the first / for the first is no*ch*t of the prop*er* consent and knawlage / and þis is done be the prop*er* conse*n*t and knawlage of the saule and of the p*er*soune And this fallouschip secund / þat the saule has w^{t} the body is agan the natur of the saule / for it suld gouerne and reul the body / and caus the body to folou the inclinacioun / and plesaunce of it / and it suld no*ch*t be subiekkit to þe body na folow the inclinacioun and dilectacioun of it / for it is euill ordour / quhe*n* þe lord obeyis to þe se*r*uande And in this secund company and fallouschip þat þe saule has w^{t} the body / it folouis the plesaunce and dilectacioun of it Alsua the prop*er* natur of the saule / is to gif lif to þe body / and no*ch*t to tak lif fra it / and in this secund fallouschip / all the plesauns at it has it tak*is* of the body / and be þat it is seuerit fra god / þat is the werray lif of the saule / and incurr*is* mortale & deidly syn / and is oblist to pane et*er*nale And sene sua it is þat þe saule of the ma*n* be thir twa societeis w^{t} the corruppit natur of the body incurr*is* originale actual and deidly syn / þarfor gif it suld be deliue*r*it fra all this euill and dede and resaue werray lif it mone haue vnioun and societe / þat is fallouschip w^{t} the haly body and flesch of ih*es*u that is of contrar condicioun to þis corruppit flesch and natur disce*n*dand of Adam And sene þe saule of the ma*n* may nocht haue naturale vnioun na *con*iu*n*ccioun w^{t} the body of ih*es*u / for þat it may no*ch*t haue / bot w^{t} the prop*er* [247r] body / tharfor it mone haue þe secund societe that is voluntar w^{t} the body of ih*es*u be the proper will & consent and luf of it / for þis is the prop*er* will & liberte of the p*er*soune / quhar þe p*er*soune will he may luf best And þarfor and the saule of the p*er*soune / be the prop*er* co*nsen*t and will of it iune it w^{t} the body of ih*es*u and w^{t} him and

takand plesaunce and dilectacioun in him in his wertuis and noble condicioun*is* / sene this is maist that þe saule may do / þan it sal be clengit fra all filth and syn and sal haue þe p*er*feccioun of wertu and grace / for the saule is lik to þe thing / þat it takis all the plesaunce and dilectacioun in / And sene ih*es*us and his natur is richt noble clene and p*er*fit sa sall the saule be / And be this maner the saule of þe p*er*soune sal haue societe and fallouschip naturale w^{t} the prop*er* body of the p*er*soune / and w^{t} the body of ih*es*u / it sall haue Compan3e and fallouschip / richt noble be the proper consent / and luf þat the saule has to ih*es*u and his haly body / þat tholit sa gret torme*n*t for it / and þus the saule of the p*er*soune / sal gif lif naturale to þe prop*er* body / and tak sp*iri*tuale lif fra þe body of ih*es*u for it is *con*iunyt w^{t} it be luf / and in the body of ih*es*u is þe di*ui*nite / þat geuis all p*er*feccioun to þe saule þat lufis ih*es*u / and the saule of þe p*er*soune suld luf þe body of ih*es*u / bett*ir* na þe prop*er* body / þat it is in / for be the fallouschip þat it has w^{t} the prop*er* body it incurr*is* gret skaith / as payne deid syn / and [247v] dampnacioun et*er*nall And the body of ih*es*u has bene skourgit persit w^{t} nalis and sper / and deit for þe saule of the p*er*soune / and has deliuerit the p*er*soune fra all the euill beforsaid / and bring*is* it to ioy et*er*nale / and als mekle as the body of ih*es*u *con*iunyt w^{t} the deite is mar noble and worthi / na is the prop*er* body of the p*er*soune / sa/mekle the vnioun þe luf and dilectacioun ⟨of⟩ 'þat' the saule has to þe body of ih*es*u is mar precius noble and digne na it is / þat it has to þe prop*er* body / þat it is fallowit w^{t} / for þe body of Adam oblist all ma*n* to syn & ded and dampnacioun et*er*nale / and the body of ih*es*u w^{t} his saule is caus of the saluacioun of the gud pepil and þar deliuerauns / fra et*er*nall dampnacioun / and as þe saule is ay *con*iunyt w^{t} the body be vnioun naturale / sa suld it euir be iunyt w^{t} the body of ih*es*u be werray co*n*sent and dilecciou*n* voluntare / þe vnioun w^{t} thi awn body / þi saule anys mone tyn / and happin sone bot the vnioun and *con*iun*c*cioun w^{t} the body of ih*es*u be luf & dilecciou*n* / þi saule will neuir tyn / bot gif þou will and be caus of þat euill þi self / and þarfor ih*es*us has gevin ws his haly flesch and body in þis sac*ra*me*n*t inuisibly vnd*er* þe forme of thing*is* *visibilis* and *sensibilis* / to þat fyn that þe saule of the p*er*soune haue vnioun and societe w^{t} him and his body be voluntar dilectacioun &

plesaunce / þat be þat þe p*er*soune may cum to all p*er*fecciouⁿ sp*irit*ual heir and eftir to glor et*er*nal And sene þis vnioun and societe suld be *con*tinual we suld [248r][1] continualy wse and frequ*e*nt þis sac*ra*m*e*nt And all thir p*er*fecciouⁿ*is* in this cheptur folowand has the haly body of ih*es*u / becaus of *con*iuⁿ*c*cioun of it w^{t} the diuinite

This folowand cheptur declar*is* hou þe body of Adam was the caus of o*ur* multiplicacioun and þe haly body of ih*es*u is þe caus of o*ur* vnioun & quhou þe body of ih*es*u may be in diu*er*s plac*is*

And[1] sene the bodely nature of Our first progenito*ur* adam / discendit be multipli/cacioun / and is and sal be deuidit in mony thousand porciou*n*is / no*ch*t as said the mast*er* of the sente*n*s / bot be naturale genera/cioun / and sene ilk body requir*is* a saule / þe multipli/cacioun of þis bodely natur of Adam is in sum man*er* þe caus of the multiplicacioun of me*n* / and of þar saulis And as þe natur of the first ma*n* / was gretlie multiplyit / [248v] Richtsua was multipliit / the syn original and infeccioun that come of him / and his syn was the caus of the sep*ar*acioun of thir saulis fra god and his grace / And sene all thir p*er*soun*is* come of him his ⟨his⟩ / flesch and þar*is* all ar reput bot a flesch / *vna caro reputantur* as sais sanct thomas *in prima parte summe* And sene ilkane of thir bodeis has a saule prop*er* / and the saule tak*is* the imp*er*feccioun fra the body / and of the flesch and body þat we tak of Adam / cu*m*mys the diuisioun of the saule fra god / And ilkane of the saulis lufis þe prop*er* body / and is inclinit to þe plesaunce and appetit of it / and sene the bodeis of diu*er*s p*er*soun*is* has diu*er*s inclina/ciou*n*is desir*is* and appetit*is* / and oft tymes ane repu*n*gnis to ane vthir / as þou desir*is* a lady or vthir thing / and ane vthir þe sa*m*myn / þarfor of Adam and of þe multi/plicacioun of his corruppit natur / cu*m*mys mekle of þe discord and trouble in the waurld / And sene the body and natur of ih*es*u is no*ch*t sa multipliit / bot is euir ane *con*iunyt and vnyt w[t] his haly saule / & di*u*inite / þarfor the saulis and p*er*soun*is* / þat ar vnyt w[t] him / be werray luf dilecciou*n* and cherite / ar[2] all in vnite / and concord sa þat þe haly body of ih*es*u contenit in this sac*ra*me*n*t is caus of all luf / Concord / and pes / and vnite ama*n*g the c*ri*stin peple / And sene the body of ih*es*u is bot ane þat was crucifiit for all me*n*

/ and to þat consentit his haly saule / þarfor all the cr*i*stin peple / suld be ane in luf and cherite anen*s* the body and saule of ihesu [249r] and the luf þat ane of thir has to ih*e*su / latt*is* na hyndr*is* noc*h*t / þe luf þat ane vthir has to him / bot helpis it in al way / And þarfor in the luf of ih*e*su / and his precius body all the cr*i*stin peple ar vnit to gidd*ir* / and for þat it is callit com*mun*ioun / for be the mene of it / all þe saulis of the cr*i*stin peple ar vnit w^{t} god / with ih*e*su / And ilkane with vþir / be tend*ir* luf and cherite / and w^{t} the haly saule of ih*e*su / And sene þe body of ih*e*su is vnit w^{t} the saule and w^{t} the d(ei)te^{l} / quh*e*n he gevis ws his haly body in this sac*ra*m*e*nt / he gevis ws his saule and di*ui*nite And þus god þat is the caus of all þe multitud of saulis / and has ordanit the frat*er*niteis amang m*e*n / first of þar saulis be creacioun / for he is a fader & creator of þame all / and ane vthir frat*er*nite he has ordand corporale and bodely / for þai ar discendit all fra a man and a woman / þat he maid clene and haly / bot þai haue infekkit þar self / The thrid frat*er*nite is þat all ar brethir in luf and cherite / and the haly body of ihesu in þis sac*ra*m*e*nt wyrk*is* and mak*is* þis frat*er*nite and vnioun / and is caus of þar haly luf and *con*iun*c*cioun And it is mekle mar *con*uenien*t* / þat the saule of the p*er*soune iune it w^{t} the body of ihesu / þat it has all lif and sp*irit*uale perfeccioun of / na w^{t} the prop*er* body that it has all filth and syn throw / And þarfor it is richt ⟨unn⟩ necessar that þe body of ih*e*su be realy present in this sac*ra*m*e*nt / and þat þe pepil resaue it / for þe sp*irit*uale lif and sustentacioun / of þe waurld [249v] And þus to conclud in this haly sacrament / I fynd a hevi*n*ly leddir contenand / v greis to ascend euir to hier p*er*feccioun The first gre is / the corporale figur and Similitude of þe breid / þat we se w^{t} our bodely Ene The secund is the werray body of ih*e*su at is i*n*sensible and inuisible þar / þoc*h*t it be visible and sene in hevin / for it is þar vnd*er* þe quhitnes / and quantite þat was befor in þe breid / bot now *sine subiecto* The thrid gre and step of the leddir is the haly blud of ih*e*su / in his body þar inuisible / The ferd is the haly saule of ih*e*su / þat is in his body & blud þar present The fift gre and step of the leddir is hiest of all / þat is the deite / þat is in the body and precius saule of ih*e*su / and all thir ar realy present in this sacrament / and fyrst is vnd*er* the figur of breid the body of ihesu / *vi consecracionis et*

virtute verborum 2° / þar is the haly blud of ih*es*u *per concomitanci*am *imme/diacam* / for his body is no*ch*t w^t^out his blud / 3° þar is the haly saule of ih*es*u / for þe saule gevis no*ch*t lif to þe body w^t^out the blud / bot it is þar *per (con)comitanciam*[1] *propinqua*m[2] 4^to^ þar is the di*ui*nite *per concomitanci*am *remota*m / for þai ar no*ch*t w^t^out the di*ui*nite / bot it is ane vthir natur distinct fra þame / and all thir ar vnd*er* the forme of the breid / Richtsua ar in the chalace in þe mes / bot no*ch*t þat is gevin to þe wnlerit pepill bot be ane vthir ordour / first is þe blud of ih*es*u *vi ue*r*boru*m *et virtute consecracionis* / *&* 2° / his body *Concomitancia immediata* / 3° *anima eius concomitancia propinqua* / his saule is vnd*er* þe figur of the wyn in the chalice 4^to^ [250r] þar is the di*ui*nite *concomitancia remota* / and thir four thing*is* signifiet and declarit ih*es*us our saluato*ur* in this sacrame*n*t / quhen he said / *io vi*° *Ego sum panis* / be that he signifiet his body present þar / *viuus* / þar he declar*is* þat his saule is þar / for w^t^outin it / the body may no*ch*t lif And this lif and vnioun of the saule and body is no*ch*t w^t^out the blud / tharfor he sais / *hic est sanguis meus noui et eterni testamenti* / and he sais *qui de celo discendi* for caus of the di*ui*nite / and all thir four thing*is* inuisible ar contenit in ih*es*u / and sene verite is and our faith at quhe*n* the pe*r*soune is baptist in the watt*er* / eft*ir* the ordinaunce of ih*es*u / at he resauis grace in the saule / we suld trow richt starklie / quhe*n* we resaue thir four thing*is* and þis sacrame*n*t / we resaue gret wertu & grace in the saule / And þus in þis sacrame*n*t the thing þat we se / and aper*is* / is litle / bot it þat we se no*ch*t and apperis no*ch*t / is richt gret / and infinit / þat is the di*ui*nite / and the vthir thre thing*is* w^t^ it / þat ar the body / the blud / and saule of ih*es*u / and fra þe baptem we ascend to þe confirmacioun / and fra þe confirma/cioun[3] / to þis hie and noble sac*ra*me*n*t Bot me*n* may dout & speir quhow þat þe body of ih*es*u may be contenit and haue real presens in hevin / and in sa mony plac*is* to giddir / and at anys / as þis sac*ra*me*n*t celebrat is and honorit[4] in / And to þat I ansuer / that þe body of ih*es*u is þe nut*ri*me*n*t sp*iri*tuale / and refeccioun of all c*ri*stin peple and necessar is / þat all c*ri*stin pepil / þat ar cummyn to age [250v] and discrecioun Resaue this haly sacrame*n*t / *in Re vel voco* / And sene þai ar no*ch*t all in a place / bot i*n* mony diue*r*s plac*is* and realmes Tharfor it is necessar / that þis haly sac*ra*me*n*t

and body of ihesu / be in diuers placis / and realmes / for the gret proffit and vtilite of the cristin pepil / And þat the body of ihesu be in mony and diuers placis at anys / that provis the institucioun and ordinaunce of him / and his wourdis / and ar witnessing to þat / that may nocht be fals / And as the body of ihesu is at anis in diuers placis / Richtsua quhen þe host is diuidit / all the haill body of ihesu w'out ony diuisioun / is in ilkane of þai partis for þe diuisioun is maid of þe accedentis sacramentalis þat ar þar and nocht in the body of ihesu þat is inmortale and inpassibill / And þis we may nocht clerlie wnderstand / bot we may and suld trow it / as þe child put to þe scule / suld trow þe wourdis and doctrine of his master *Oportet enim addiscentem credere* / And the seik man suld trow þe leill and expert medicinar / þocht he knaw nocht his craft / for it is nocht necessar / þat þe seik man knaw quhow the medycyn is maid or wrocht / it suffice to him þat he be helpit and helit throu it / Richtsua ihesus has nocht institut na ordand the sacramentis princi/paly to þat fyn / and end / þat þe man knaw quhow þai ar ordand ⟨þe sacramentis principaly to þat fyn & end / þat þe man knaw quhow þai ar ordand⟩ and institut / bot to þat ende / þat be vse applica / [251r] cioun and wertu of þame / the man resaue wertu & grace / help / suple / and finaly / eternale saluacioun of god / and eftir þat he haue resauit þame / þe grace at god gevis him be þame / causis and helpis him to knaw þame / and the wertu of þame / be instruccioun[1] / illuminacioun / argumentis / and exemplis / in[2] the sacrament of þe eucha/rist / þar is gretar merwalis/ / þan in ony of the laif / as sais the prophet / *Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator dominus estam dedit timentibus se* / for the body of ihesu is at anis / in a tyme / in mony and diuers place And it is nocht diuidit 'quhen þe host is diuidyt'[3] / bot all haill / body saule / and diuinite / in ilk part of þe hoste sensible / quhepir it be diuidit or nocht / Tharfor sene all thir things aperis agane the wit naturale / and ymaginacioun of the man / This mater is richt difficil to declar / or wnderstand bot it suld be na merwell / þat þe diuinite wyrk thir merwellis in this sacrament / and body of ihesu / þocht man may[4] nocht knaw þame / be naturale wit 'or' experiens / for it is iunyt w' the diuinite / and sene the diuinite is in all place / it is þe caus quhy / þis haly body is in mony placis / in hevin /

circumscriptiue / and in all place quhar þis sacrament is / oþir way / we knaw be philosophy / þat the saule of the man is al haill in all the body / and al haill in the lest part of þe body / the ta hand and arme is distant fra þe toþir / and richtsua the lege fute and heid / and ȝit the saule is al haill in ilkane of thir partis and placis / haill [251v] w'out diuisioun / we persaue weill / quhen I speik a wourd and mony heris me / þis wourd þat I speik / is in the Eris of mony men / þat ar in diuers placis / and heris me And gif we knaw this be experiens / quhat difficulte suld we mak / bot god may / be his infinit power / Caus a body glorius of ihesu / vnyt w' the diuinite / 'to' be in a tym in diuers placis And we se and knawis weill / þat a wourd as þis wourd *Rex* / quhepir it be litle or mekle has a significacioun / and þocht it war als litle as I wryt it / it representis the sammyn thing / þat it representit / and it war als mekle as a hous / Richtsua þe figur of breid quhepir it be litle or mekle / it representis the body of ihesu vnder it / nopir mar nor les / bot the sammyn / and all ane / as þis wourd *rex* / and it war spokin in rome and heir it representis a thing / and / the thing þat it representis is ane / þocht the wourdis be diuers / Richtsua þe body of ihesu is ane in rome / & heir / vnder þe sacrament and figur ⟨and⟩ of breid / bot the figuris and quhitnes ar diuers / heir / and þair / and in vthir placis / Richtsua þocht þar be infinit hosteis / þe body of ihesu is bot ane / and na diuersite in it / how mony placis þat euir it be in And als lang as þe figur and takin / that is þe figur of the breid and quhitnes remanis / sa lang remanis þar þe body of ihesu / and richtsua of his blud / in the chalice / alsua wil þou tak a merour / richt litle and ane als mekle as a hous / and put a man befor þam baith / þar sal appeir / bot the figur of a man [252r] in ilkane / and the man is bot ane / þocht the figur and similitude be diuers / bot and þou brek þe merour in mony partis / þe figur will appeir in ilkane of þe partis / Richt sua[1] and þar war ane hoste / als gret as a hous and ane vthir als litle / as it þat we wse / the body of ihesu contenit in baith war all ane / and þocht ilkane of þame war diuidit in a hundreth thousand partis / the body of ihesu war vnder þame / bot ane / we se þat this letter A / quhen it is writtin / that it is[2] corporale quhilis litle quhilis mekle / eftir as it is writtin / and richtsua þis wourd *Corpus vel homo* / bot quhen it is

resauit in the saule it[1] is sp*irit*uale / and no*ch*t corporale / and noþir mar nor les Richtsua þo*ch*t the body of ih*es*u in hevin occupy a place / quantitatiue *localiter* & co*mm*en*s*uratiue / it occupyis no*ch*t a place / that man*er* in the sac*ra*ment / We se þat þe sone and the mone ar gret / we se half the lift þat is of gret quantite / bot it is resauit i*n* our E w[t]out sic quantite / and sp*irit*ualy in our saule Ry*ch*t/sua the body of ih*es*u in this sacrament is no*ch*t be maner of quantite / nor extensioun / for it is in this sac*ra*ment for þe heill and medycyn of þe saule / that is sp*irit*ual / þat it may draw the saule to þe luf of ih*es*u / and þarfor it suld be heir / þe way maist *con*uenien*t* for the saule / and þat is a maist sp*irit*ualy / and no*ch*t occupyand grosly na materialy a place / for þan it war nocht in a *con*uenien*t* maner for þe saule / in þi sleip þou seis in þi fantasie or ymaginacioun / þe forme and figur of [252v] the breid / bot thou seis no*ch*t the breid / and one the day þou seis the figur of the breid in the merour / bot þar is na breid þar / Richtsua seand in this sacrament / þou seis the forme and figur / þat was befor in the breid / and was the figur of it / bot þou seis na breid þar / na gust*is* na wyn / for na(n)e[1] of þame ar þar / bot ar trans/mutit / and in thar place is the body and saule of ih*es*u / And þis is done to schaw the infinit power of god in þis sacrament / and þat we *com*myt na ydolatrie / for it þat we anorne þar / is god i*n* humanite / þat is ih*es*us / and his haly body and saule / And gif þou anour/nys the breid / þar / þou *com*mitt*is* ydolatrie And consid*er*and the gret dignite / valour / and excellens of þis haly sac*ra*/men*t* and difficulteis / þat mony p*er*soun*is* ymaginis in it / and þat / the innemy cast*is* in þar mynd / for þe hono*ur* of ihesu / and his haly body / in þ*is* sac*ra*ment I wil discend ȝit mar profoundly / to treit of it / be the profounde doctrine of haly theologie / þat is þe hie and maist noble scie*n*s and has þe Souuerane gou*er*nauns of the halykyrk / Euill disposit pepil / be errour and induccioun of the innemy ymaginis þat þe haly body of ih*es*u / is no*ch*t weraly in þe prop*er* natur / in this sacrament for caus þai ca*n* no*ch*t ymagi*n* na wnd*er*stand / quhow the breid and wyn suld be changit in the body and blud of ih*es*u / And als þai ca*n* no*ch*t wnd*er*stand þe maner quhow his body is heir / And sic fals yma/ginacioun / had þe fals iowis / quhe*n* ih*es*us preichit of þe wertu / and verite of þis haly sacrament / as sais sanct [253r]

iohnne in his euuangell / in the sext cheptur / *Ego sum panis viuus qui de celo discendi / Si quis manducauerit ex hoc pane viuet ineternum / Et panis quem ego dabo caro mea est pro mundi vita /* And agane this haly doctrin of ihesu concernand this sacrament / þe fals iowis as sais sanct iohne / *litigabant* ergo *iudei ad inuicem dicentes quomodo potest hic nobis carnem suam dare ad manducandum* And þan to þame ansuerit ihesus / *dixit* ergo *eis ihesus Amen amen dico vobis Nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis eius sanguinem non habebitis vitam in vobis qui manducat meam carnem & bibit meum sanguinem habet vitam eternam Et ego resuscitabo eum in nouissimo die* in this place of the euuangell / and mony vthir ihesus preichit of this haly sacrament / and of the gret wertu of it / for he sais *Caro mea vere est cibus & sanquis meus vere est potus* / And divyne and hevinly theologie biddis þe persoune dout na way / bot the gud lord ihesus mycht gif / and gaf to his peple / his haly body & blud in spirituale nurising of þar saule / and it is our gret presumpcioun and pryd in the man / at thinkis at he may wnderstand / and comprehend all that god may do / and at he suld knaw all his / counsall / his werk and operacioun / Our god and lord Souuerane þat maid angell / hevin / and all creatur / war of our litle power or wisdome gif he mycht wyrk or do nocht / bot it þat our sempil wyt mycht wnderstand / or comprehend For our wit is bot litle / and his power & wisdome [253v] ar infynit / and first we suld trow to him / and eftir we may in sum way wnderstand his veritable and haly doctrin *Si non crederitis non intelligitis* And cummand to þe purpos I suppone / that nouthir iow saracene or euill cristin man wil deny / that euirilk king empriour or lord suld haue thre things to gouerne his pepil / Power wisdome and beneuo/lens / power to defend þame / wisdome to ordand þame be richt and law Beneuolens to luf and gouerne þame / And thir thre condicionis ar principaly in god / infinit power infinit wisdome / infinit beneuolens / and nouthir iow[1] / na saracene / be ressoune may deny þis / And þarfor god nedit na misterit nocht to cre / forme / na produce / þe waurld bot[2] to schaw his infinit wisdome power and beneuolens to his creaturis / And þat þai suld knaw honour & serue him he creat / and has producit þame / and amang þe laif he producit þe creatur humane[3] / to knaw him / to luf him / to honour him /

and to gif him reuerens / for he is his creatur souerane lord and gouernour / And þis he did for his honour / and for þe proffit of the man And þus þe creatur humane / þat knawis him nocht / and dois nocht honour & reuerens to him may nocht be excusit / bot becaus the noble werkis of god in the waurld / in hevin / in Erde / in Element / in sone / mone and sternis / in mennis produccioun and gouernaunce / ar commoun / Now men takis litle compt and did richtsua befor / in safer þat mony errit and said / þat god did all be necessite / and mycht do na vthir way / And þarfor god for þe distruccioun of thir errouris and mony vther And to ger þe creatur [254r] humane knaw his infinit power / wisdome / and beneuolens has gevin expres commandment to trow vthir things / þat ar nocht lik to þame / þat ar dayli wrocht be the commone cours of natur / and þat our wittis sensatiue and natural wnderstanding may nocht knaw na comprehend / sa þat i(l)k[1] man knawand þis / may knaw þe infinit power wisdome and beneuolens of god / and þat he gouernis all eftir his fre will and plesaunce w[t]out ony vthir limitacioun or contradiccioun / And þis is þe caus quharfor god in þis sacrament has wrocht and wyrkis sa mony merwalis / þat þe man may knaw / and wnderstand and trow / þat he is þe lord of power / and wisdome / at he may do of his creatur / all þat he will / a thousand tymes mar na the creatur may wnderstand / ymagin / or compre/hend / and als at he may wyrk at his plesaunce opir way / na is þe commone cours of natur / and of the creature / þat we ar[2] wount to se and knaw / And be this þou suld lift þi wnderstanding / and knaw his beneuolens / and singular prouidence / anens the man / mar na anens the laif of the creaturis / and als his singular grace gevin to þe man / And be this maner the cristin pepil suld knaw his hie wertuis / power / wisdome / & beneuolenns infinit / and þat þai ar oblist to obey ⟨to obey⟩ to him / and serue him / and luf him / our all thing / And thir gret merwalis god has wrocht and schawin in this haly sacrament / first to counfound the presumpcioun of þe euill lyffaris for þe/[3] and distruccioun of þar dampnable errouris / þat will nocht submyt þame to him / to his infinit [254v] power / wisdome / and beneuolens / and þou suld trow to god w[t]out demonstracioun or ressoune inuisible / ellis þow tynis þi meid / and merit / and þou trowis na mar to god na to þe lest persoune / of faith wisdome

⟨and⟩ 'or' autorite in the waurld for and ony of þame schew þe a thing clerlie / þou wauld trow it / and þus þou had na merit trowand to god *Quia vt dicit gregorius fides non habet meritum vbi humana ratio prebet experimentum* / And gif þou desiris probaciouns / of the verite of this sacrament / mony thousand persouns of men and women / of maist haly lif þat euir was / has trowit and honorit it / and mony thou/sand mirakle has bene schawin in witnessing of the verite of it / And trowand in the wertu of þis sacrament obeyand to god / our merit is richt gret / for and ve[1] saw þe diuersite / betuix þe hoste consecrat / and it þat is nocht consecrat and þan trowit þe verite þar of / we seruit na merit na reward / as I haue schawin nocht lang befor / And for thir & vthir ressoun ihesus has gevin ws / his haly body / in this sacrament / in sic a maner / at we se it nocht / first for our humiliacioun / for humylyand ws and trowand the ordi/naunce of god / and the thing þat we se nocht / we haue gret merit / and als for caus we ar nocht digne na worthi to se his haly body / in the hie state of glor / þat he is now in Tharfor it is gevin to ws wnder the figur and forme of breid / and wyne / and þat we knaw be wertu of the faith Alsua þar is na man na woman / þat may se the clarite and brichtnes of it / for þe corporale sicht of it / is ane of the partis of beatitud and felicite eternall And þarfor the persoune may nocht in this waurld cum[2] [255r] to the perfeccioun of the sicht of it / And as to þe muta/cioun of the breid and wyne in the body of ihesu / and his precius blud / I haue spokin of it befor / bot nouthir þe iowis na paganis / na the cristin men / suld reput this incredible for the iowis in the bibill and auld law redis of merwalus mutacioun / done and maid be the wourdis of the prophetis The wand of moyses / was turnit in a serpent / The watter was turnit in blud / the powder in fleis The wif of loth in a stane of salt / the wand w[t]out humidite in a growand wand / þe se was diuidit The gret Ryver and flud *iordanis* turnit agane the cours / the deid men was raysit The sone restit in the hevin w[t]out mocioun / and all thir agane the cours of natur / And mony sic thingis ar writtin in the law of the iowis / þarfor þai suld nocht deny / þat þe power of god turnis & chaungis[3] the breid and wyne in the body and blud of ihesu Alsua the paganis and wn cristin men / trowit and ȝit trowis for ⟨þ⟩ verite and w[t]out fable / þat þe

companȝonis and fallowis of diomeid of grece cummand fra troye war turnit in foulis / as rahersis Sanct augustyn in his buk / *de ciuitate dei* / and þat þai 'at' come fra troy w^t^ vlixes / be the craft of þe enchantrice and wich / Circes was turnit in mony bestis part in leonis / and vthir part in vþir bestis / as virgill tellis in þe vi buk of Eneydes And a philosophour callit appolonius / said þat his self was / turnit in ane awn / and þus þai trowit mony sic thingis as poetis and corniklis tellis of / And our all þis we se and knawis be werray experiens / þat the seid of quheit [255v] ber or aitis castin in þe Erd / fyrst is corrumpit and turnis / and is changit and gretlie multipliit in new corne The achorne is changit be the operacioun of natur / in a gret ack tre / and richtsua of mony vthir / ane element is transmutit and chaungit 'in ane athyr / in part / water in the ayer / irne in a best is changyt'[1] be degestioun in the natur of it / þe nurising of a man / part of it in his flesch / vthir part in blud / vþir in banis nalis or vthir thing / and of mony vthir richtsua And we knaw be the halyscriptur / and faith of ihesu þat all the waurld was maid of nocht Tharfor we may weill knaw and wnderstand / þat þe infinit power of god / may transmut the breid and wyne in the body and blud of ihesu / in the maner þat I haue schawin befor / for eftir þe prolacioun and formacioun of the wourdis sacramentale / þe breid is nocht þar na the wyne / bot vnder þe forme of the breid / is the body of ihesu / And vnder þe forme of the wyn is his blissit blud / as I haue schawin befor / And quhat euir be done to þe accidentis sacramentale / owthir / fylit or corrumpit / na sic thing may be in the body of ihesu / for it is inpassible and may nocht resaue ony of þai / imperfeccionis / in the body of ihesu / na ȝit it may nocht resaue nane of þai inperfeccionis / Richt as þe licht of the sone in a foule place / is nocht fylit na the saule of the man in the body / and as to þe forme and wourdis sacramentale / þai ar in the euuangellis of ihesu / in the mes buk and in the law Canone [256r] *Capitulo cum marte* / bot becaus the kyrk ordanis þame tobe said secretlie / in the consecracioun / I will nocht declar þame heir in this langage And þus þe benignite and grace of god / is sa mekle anens the cristin pepil þat nouthir hert may think / na tovng may tell / quhow he has creat ws / and maid ws of nocht / and gevin ws all giftis ⟨of⟩ & benefice of natur / Eftir our

trespas*is* he has ransonit ws w^{t} his precius blud / and he has left to ws his precius body and blud / for sp*irit*ual nurising in this sac*ra*m*en*t / in werray realite / and verite bot no*ch*t visibli / in þar prop*er* figur / for þat had no*ch*t bene proffitable / na expedient to ws / for causis befor schawin / for as ih*es*us sais *Caro non prodest quicqua*m That is in the visible forme and figur / for sp*irit*uale nurising Bot as the saule is sp*irit*uall and inuisible / sa suld þis haly body of ihesu nuris þe saule sp*irit*ualy / be maner inuisible / and this nut*ri*/m*en*t sp*irit*uale causis in ws faith / hope / cherite / and dilecciou*n* / w^{t} mony vthir w*er*tuis / and all this the deuot p*er*soune / and all the pepil of ih*es*u may knaw be doctrine / and haly faith of ih*es*u

[256v] This cheptur folowand sall schaw the tyme of the institucioun of þe haly sac*ra*ame*n*t þe diue*r*s maner*is* of the resaving of it the proffit and vtilite / þarof and mony vthir thingis

IN[t] the first it was Richt *con*uenient that þis sac*ra*ame*n*t was institut in the law of grace / And the doctour*is* Alexande*r* ⟨þ⟩ *de hailis* / and *bona ventura* schawis causis þarof The first is for þe werray body of ih*es*u is contenit in this sac*ra*ame*n*t / þarfor it was ⟨richt⟩ 'noc*h*t' *con*uenie*n*t / þat it suld be ordand / quhil ih*es*us tuk humanite / and was borne of the virgin in the tyme of grace Alsua þis is the sacrame*n*t / of comu/nioun of luf and cherite / and þarfor in takin of the gret ardent cherite / þat ih*es*us had to us / quhe*n* he offe*r*it his precius blud for us to his fader on þe croce he institut þis sac*ra*ame*n*t inmediatlie befor his passioun and said / *Accipite et manducate hoc e*st *corpus meu*m And diue*r*s pe*r*soun*is* resauis þis haly sac*ra*ame*n*t be diue*r*s wayis and maneris *quid*am *sp*irit*ualiter* / *alii sacramentaliter* / þai þat resauis þis haly sac*ra*ame*n*t in faith and cherite / þai resaue it deuotlie *sacramentaliter & spiritualiter* Bot þai [257r] þat resauis it *ore* / and has werray faith þat the body of ih*es*u is þar / bot þai ar noc*h*t þan i*n* cherite þa*n* þai resaue it *sacramentaliter tantum* / þai þat resauis it / *Sacramentaliter et spiritualiter recipiunt sacramentum & effectum sacramenti* / *hoc e*st *gra*ciam *Et qui sacramentaliter tantum suscipiunt sacra/mentum* / sed *non effectum sacramenti* / And quhe*n* þe pe*r*soune resauis þis haly sac*ra*ame*n*t w[t] deuocioun / he has mony proffit*is* and froit*is* þar of / the first is gratificacioun for all sic pe*r*soun*is* resauis it w[t] grace / and grace growis and augme*n*t*is* in him for '*in*' it is contenit ih*es*us þat is the fontane and well of grace / and quhe*n* he come in the waurld / he come w[t] grace *io i*° / *gracia & veritas per ihesum* christu*m* *facta est* Richtsua in þis sac*ra*ment he gevis grace to þe pe*r*soune / for þis sacrame*n*t represent*is* þe passioun of ih*es*u / that is the

caus of grace / ihesus *hoc quocienscu*mque *feceritis in meam commemoracionem facietis* And it is spirituale nurising / and as the mete & drink sustenis the lif of the persoune / Richtsua this sacrament gevis grace to þe man / and þarfor it is callit *eucharista hoc est bona gracia* The secund froit is remissioun of venial synnis / ⟨bot⟩ 'for' be the wertu of þis sacrament resauit deuotlie / it puttis away the venial synnys The thrid is þat quhen þis sacrament is resauit deuotlie / it remittis the payn þat the persoune is oblist to susteyn / nocht euir all the payn bot part of it quhilis mar quhilis les / eftir as the persoune has deuocioun / and it helpis gretlie to mak satisfaccioun for þame / at it is offert for / baith levand & deid [257v] The ferd frut is that þis sacrament defendis him that resa/vis it weill and deuotlie / fra temptacioun and kepis him fra þe synnis þat he is abill to fall in to / and as the gud nurising helpis the body / þat it fall nocht in seknes Rychtsua þis sacrament conseruis the persoune that he fall nocht in syne The fift frute and relevacioun[1] for þe persoune þat resauis þis sacrament deuotlie þocht he fall in syn is mar abill to rys fra it na ane vthir for he is starkar And gif the persounis has committit deidly synnis / þat is out of his mynd and forȝet þame it remittis thame / and alsua it wakis our inclinacioun to þe syn of the flesch / and is caus of augmentacioun of all wertu / þis sacrament nurisis spiritualy the saule and quhilis the body be mirakle Alsua this haly sacrament causis / augmentacioun of hevinly glor & beatitude for the mar þat þe grace grow the mar & gretar beatitude folowis þarof The preist in celebracioun resauis þis sacrament *sub vtra*que *specie* / bot þe laude men suld resaue it *Solum sub specie panis* / he suld resaue it vnder þe figur of the breid and nocht of the wyn / for þat is the ordinaunce of the haly kyrk / *laicus non debet communicare sub specie vini propter periclum effusionis sanguinis* / *quia laici sunt necligentes & indiscreti eciam esset periclum in tanta multitudine communicancium de effusione sanguinis Eciam ne erraret & crederet corpus domini esse sub specie panis* / *& sanguinem sub specie vini & non totum* Christum *sub vtra*que *specie* / All the haill body & blud saule and deite is vnder the figur of the breid / and sa ar [258r] þai vnder þe figur of the wyn / And that þe lawde peple suld nocht Er trowand þat þe body of ihesu is vnder the figur of the breid / and nocht his blud / and þat þe blud

is vnd*er* the figur of the wyn / and no*ch*t his body / for þat is erro*ur* / for alhaill ih*es*us and all p*er*tenand to him is vnd*er* baith / and þat the semple and lawde pepill suld trow þat / at þe body and blud þe saule & deite & *totus ihesus* / is vnd*er* þe figur of the breid / þarfor the haly kyrk has ordand / þat þe laude pepill resaue no*ch*t *Nisi sub vna sp*ecie *i.e. panis* / And for mony vthir causis / þat has bene schawin in the counsalis of constaunce and basill / And in þis mat*er* þou suld knaw and wnd*er*stand þat prop*er*ly in þis sac*ra*m*en*t þou seis no*ch*t ih*es*u na his body w^{t} thi corporale ⟨Ene⟩ & bodely Ene for it at þou seis þar is a quhitnes and a rounde quantite / and nouthir of þai is ih*es*us na his body / na ȝit in his body / bot þai ar^{1} in the breid eft*ir* the consecracioun / and 'befoir'^{2} ⟨eft*ir*⟩^{3} þai war no*ch*t in it / bot cons*er*uit be the mirakle of god *sine sub*iecto / bot þe body of ihesu assist*is* / and is present to þat quhitnes & rotundite Neuirtheles the deuot peple / þat sais þat þai saw god in the prest*is* hand*is* Erris no*ch*t / for þai se him be the licht of the faith and trowis weraly / þat he is þar and þat is trew Alsua þi prayer and orisoune suld no*ch*t be to þai thing*is* þat þou seis w^{t} þi bodely Ene / bot to þe thing þou seis no*ch*t / and trowis be þar [258v] for þat is wourthi tobe honorit and prait to / And þou suld no*ch*t hono*ur* na mak na orisone / and prayer to þat host / quhil the consecracioun be maid / quhil þou se þe preist pray to it or lift it / the mat*er* of þis sacram*en*t is breid of quhet and wyn And in na vthir mat*er* may be consecracioun of this sac*ra*m*en*t / þe forme of this sacram*en*t / ar the wourd*is* consecratiue / the preist is mi*ni*ster of it / And na vthir may mak consecracioun nouthir angell na virgin And it is requirit þat þe mi*ni*ster haue purpos and e*n*ten/cioun to consecrat Agane the verite of þis sac*ra*ment has bene mony diu*er*s erro*ur*is / ane was þat ih*es*us was no*ch*t in þis sac*ra*m*en*t be reall presens / *sed sicut in signo* / And ane callit *berangarius* was caus of þis herresie / þat eft*ir* reuokit his erro*ur* as is writtin in þe decre This was a wykkit herresie / agane the verite of the faith / for as þe faith and halywrit schawis 'ih*es*us i*n* þ*is* sac*ra*m*en*t schawis his'^{4} devin power þat is infinit / and his gret and ardent cherite to us / agane þis herresie is mekle of þe halyscr*i*ptur ih*es*us sais / *io vi*^{o} / *Caro mea ver*e *est cibus & sanguis meus vere est potus* And all the euua*n*/gellis ar full þar of / as I haue declarit befor / and als agane this herresie is

the faith of ih*es*u / and all the halykyrk / *& in antiquis de fide catholica firmiter* The clerk sanct thomas of awqwyne rahersis syndry Errour*is* agane this sacrame*n*t in a litle treti he maid of the sacrame*nt*i*s* / þai may be seyn þar / and sene þis is the hiest and maist noble sacrame*n*t I haue ⌊259r⌋ maid gret declaracioun of it / for þe hono*u*r of ih*es*u and deuocioun of the pepil / and of it I haue w*r*ittin at lenth in the ferd buk of the sente*n*s *Speculatiue multum* / and has maid a buk in latyn / and p*ar*t of se*r*mound*is* in þis langag*e* / Now will I treit of þe sacra/me*n*t of pe*n*aunce / that disponis the p*er*soune & mak*is* him ganand / and co*n*uenie*n*t to resaue þis haly sac*ra*ment

This cheptur folowand declar*is* quhow þe sac*ra*men*t* of pe*n*naunce is hevinly and sp*irit*ual medy-/cyn agane all actual dedly syn / þat þe p*er*soune *com*mitt*is* and fallis in eft*ir* þe bap-teme

I[1] haue declarit befor oft tymes quhou the sp*irit*ual lif is proporcionat / and lik to þe corporale and bodely lif / and i*n* the natural and corporale lif / is genera/cioun / augmen*t*acioun and nut*r*icioun / Richtsua in the lif sp*irit*ual / is first sp*irit*uale generacioun in the bapteme sp*irit*ual augmen*t*acioun in the confirmacioun and sp*irit*ual nutri/cioun / in the haly eucharist / and in the naturall [259v] and bodely lif / and the p*er*soune had lif et*er*nal / and inpassi/ble / and my*ch*t haue na seknes na infirmite þe genera/cioun augmen*t*acioun and nut*r*icioun sufficit to it / for þa*n* þai mist*er*it no*ch*t medycyn Richtsua in the sp*irit*ual lif / and þe p*er*soune incurrit no*ch*t sp*irit*uale seknes / and my*ch*t no*ch*t syn he mist*er*it no*ch*t vthir thing / bot the bapteme confirmacion and haly eucharist sufficit to him Bot we se þat the ma*n* / þat incurr*is* gret bodely seknes mist*er*is medycyn help and suple / richtsua the ma*n* þat be his fre arbiter and liberte may fall in syn / Eft*ir* þat he fall in it mist*er*is sp*irit*uale medycyn help and suple / quhe*n* he tynis grace gevin to him in the bapteme And þarfor ih*es*us of his gret me*r*cy and grace agane syn / has ordand the sp*irit*uale medycyn / the haly sacrame*n*t of pe*n*naunce/ / ⟨& befor 'it is'[2] the sacrame*n*t of bapteme / and institucioun of it⟩// / A ma*n* þat had ressoune and fre liberte / suld haue forthoc*h*t his syn '*in* þe ald law' and mad pe*n*naunce for it / *p*salmus *Sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus cor contritum & humiliatum*[3] *deus non dispi/cies* / bot þan it was no*ch*t a sacrame*n*t na sa p*er*fit as now / *quia non habuit signa sensibilia sane quibus non est sacramentum* And sene the syn faute & trespas / be we*r*ray iustice requir*is* satisfaccioun or forgevnes of him / þat it is *com*mittit agane / And

sene na lord king prince or Emp*r*iour / wil gif to him indulgence / þat wil no*ch*t forthink his trespas / bot p*er*seuer*is* in it / bot becaus þat the faute he maid / of his liberte and fre will he suld of his self and fre will repent it / Therefor be [260r] werray ressoune it is necessar þat the p*er*soune that has *com*mittit syn agane god for think it / And þarfor to put away the actuall and mortale syn that þe p*er*son *com*mitt*is* eft*ir* þe bapteme / twa thing*is* ar necessar / ane of the p*er*soune þat *com*mittit the syn / and þat is dolour displesaunce / and forthinking þat he *com*mittit þe syn the to*þir* is of goddis p*ar*t and þat is remissioun indulge*n*s and forgevnes / and sene the ma*n* knawis his fragilite subiecciouη and obligacioun to god / and the gret power and hie maieste of god be werray ressoune he suld humyll him to god and humely ask m*er*cy and indulgence for his faute / and w^{t} þis it is requirit / þat þe synnar haue hop / and trow to haue m*er*cy and forgevnes of god for w^{t}out that þe payn and displesaunce helpis him no*ch*t / as was of iudas þe traytowr[1] / as þe euuangell tellis of the passioun of ih*es*u / god creis the saule / and putt*is* in the body / quhe*n* þe body is graithit and disponit to resaue it / Richtsua he gevis m*er*cy grace indulgence and remissioun to þame þat forthink*is* þar syn and disponis þame to resaue his mercy / plato þe philoso/phour said *forme dantur* secundu*m* *disposicione*m *et merita(m)*[2] *materie* / *et ar*istoteles 2^{o} *de anima* / *Actus actiuoru*m *sunt* i*n* *paciencie & predisposito* / and sene na thing is mar na sa mekle displesaunt to god as the syn / þarfor or god gif his mercy grace and indulgence / the p*er*soune mon forthink þe syn / and sene the syn is the prop*er* werk & operacioun [260v] of the ma*n* done and *com*mittit agane god / and he has offendit him in mynd wourd & deid / the ma*n* suld for think[3] it / and amend it in mynd wourd & deid / in mynd forthinkand in wourd confessand / and in deid makand sat*is*faccioun / for the faute and trespas Ellis be ressoune he disponis him no*ch*t for m*er*cy and remissioun / the natur of the syn is that it wauld be secret hyd and wnknawin / as we se in lichory w^{t} þe lady *com*mittit / and þat the deuil p*er*suad*is* for þe syn is sa foule and abho*m*inable / þat he þat dois it has schame of it / and sene it is þe maist innemy of þe ma*n* / and led*is* him to payne and dampnacioun et*er*nall/ / be ressoune and law of god / the ma*n* suld reput it his mor/tall[4] innemy / and

mak p*er*secucioun agane it / he suld confes it manifest / and schaw it to þe vicar and place haldand of god in the confusioun of it / þat is his mortale innemy / and of the deuill And sene the innemy & syn has desauit the ma*n* and causit him to brek his lawte and promys ⟨to god⟩ and religioun / þe ma*n* suld accus the syn / and tell all the fals natur and condicioun of it / and quhow þe innemy and syn has desauit him / and causit him to brek his laute and promys to god / he suld do þat in his confessioun / & be þat he may haue m*er*cy and indulgence / quhe*n* he forthink*is* and putt*is* þe wyt to vthir þat ar mar culpable þan he as the syn and the innemy / and he suld do þis in the iugeme*n*t of god / and ask þat he be deliuerit throu the mercy of god / and the innemy be punyst / and the syn [261r] eft*ir* the iustice of god And þus in the distruccioun of the syn þar is twa thing*is* inuisible ane*n*s god þat is indulgence and remissioun of the syn and grace / And als ane*n*s the ma*n* þat *com*mittit the syn / þat is cont*ri*cioun & forthinking in his hert and absolucioun And as I said befor in all sacrame*n*t the thing*is* inuisible is signifiet and manifest be a thing visible and sensible / as declar*is* þe diffini/cioun of the sac*ra*me*n*t / þarfor as þar is twa thing*is* inui/sible in this sac*ra*me*n*t / richtsua þar is twa thing*is* visible one þe ma*n*nis p*ar*t / first he schawis his pe*n*naunce and disposi/cioun / to resaue grace and m*er*cy of god and his confession verbale his greting m*ur*nyng fasting and alm*us* thir schawis and signifyis þe cont*ri*cioun and dolour he has in his hert / Ane vthir thing is sensible cor*respo*ndent to þe indulge*n*s and mercy of god / and þat is þe absolucioun gevi*n* be the preist vicar iuge / and place haldand of god the confessioun of the synnar his wourd*is* & operacioun is the mat*er* / Richt as the watt*er* in the bapteme / and the wourd*is* of the preist / *Ego absoluo te* / is þe forme and signifyis & betaky*n*nis / þat god has þa*n* remittit þe offence and syn / and forgevin the sy*n*nar / And þarfor þat þe synnar suld be sekyr of medycyne / and of þe remissioun of his syn ih*es*us has institut and ordanit þe maner how the synnar suld do pe*n*naunce and first þat he suld haue dolour and tristes in his hert of the syn þat he has *com*mittit / and þat he suld ma*n*ifest and declar þat be his confessioun / and taky*n*nis [261v] sensible / as greting praying alm*us* fasting satisfaccioun and mony vthir thing / And w*t* þis god has ordanit his louete*n*nand / and

vicar to be iuge / and heir the confessioun of the synnar / þat suld knaw his pe*n*naunce and dolour / and has gevin him power to remyt & forgif þe syn in his name And þarfor quhat euir synnar cum*m*mys to þe preist / and iuge þat ih*es*us has ordand and desir*is* remissioun and forgevnes and dois it þat ih*es*us has ordand him / w[t]out ony dubitacioun / he sall haue remissioun of his syn & werray indulgence / be the wertu of þis sacrament þ*a*t ih*es*u*s* has ordand and[1] institut '& sene þe laif of þe sac*ra*men*tis* þat ih*es*us has ordand & i*n*stitut'[2] ar veritable and it þat þai betakin and signifyis is gevin to þe ma*n* be the wertu and applicacioun of þame Richtsua in this haly sac*ra*me*n*t / þe remissioun of syn forgevnes and indulgence þat it signifiis / is gevi*n* be it / ellis it war fals / and ih*es*us war a lier in his wourd*is* / þat he has ordand to gif remissioun w[t] / Ego *absoluo te a peccatis tuis* / And sene it is inpos/sible þat god be fals desaue ws or mak lesing / it is impossible / þat we be desauit in this sac*ra*me*n*t And in þis apperis the infinit gudnes m*er*cy & benig*n*ite of god / þat has institut and ordand / þis haly sac*ra*me*n*t and medycyn sp*irit*uale / þat me*n* þat has offendit him eft*ir* þe bapteme *com*mittand syn and trespas / haue remeid throu it / and fall no*ch*t / in disperacioun / þis is a hevinly thing full of all mercy and grace / þat the [262r] lord þat we offend and trespassis agane distroyis ws no*ch*t / bot has ordand þe way and maner hou we may ples him and amend our faute / put away o*u*r syn / and turne agane p*er*fitlie / to his fauo*u*r and hertlie luf / And þus þis haly sac*ra*me*n*t is a noble gait and way to pas fra syn and payn et*er*nal / þat we ar oblist to / wn to þe hie stage of paradice / in þis leddir and way / ar thre or four greis / ane is cont*r*icioun ane vthir is confessioun / or ente*n*cioun to mak it / in the tyme and place *con*uenie*n*t / the thrid is satisfaccioun *in re vel voco* / And þis is a gret p*ar*t of þis way and leddir / þat contenis thre greis Orisoune fasting and almus deid / And þan quhe*n* þe ma*n* has i*n* his mynd cont*r*icioun / in his mouth confessioun / and in w*er*ray deid or purpos satisfaccioun he cu*m*mys to ane hie stage of þe ledd*ir* þat is absolucioun / quhar he gett*is* werray remissioun and indulgence And sene the remissioun and forgevin of the syn / that is callit indul/gence may no*ch*t be done *de lege potesta* / w[t]out that the grace of god be gevin to þe ma*n* þar for þan is the ma*n* assolȝeit fra syn and pane

et*er*nall and grace gevin to him / and all thir thing*is* ar done in þ*is* sac*ra*me*n*t / be the wertu of the glorius passioun & ded of ih*es*u / for quhe*n* þe ma*n* resauis this sacrame*n*t þan he is iunyt w*t* the passioun of ih*es*u / and it is appliit to him and as I haue schawin mony tym befor [262v] this glorius passioun exced*is* w*t*out comp*er*isone in gud/nes all the euill / of all the sy*n*nis of þe waurld / þarfor be wertu of it in þis sacrame*n*t is remittit all syn and payn et*er*nal / þat we war oblist to / bot the p*er*soune sen he sy*n*nis / of his awne consent and fre will / he is oblist to suffer p*ar*t of pane temporale / and the mar þat he dispone his self be contr*i*cioun greting and m*ur*nyng for his syn / and the mar þat he accus*is* his self of it / þe mar p*er*fitlie he resauis þis sac*ra*me*n*t / and the temporale payn is euir the les / and sene the syn begouth in the hert of the p*er*soune / and he had plesaunce and dilectacioun þar in / and now he of his awne prop*er* will has displesauns and tristes þar of / þarfor he has þe werray medycyn / *q*uia *contraria contrariis curantur* And as þe seik ma*n* purg*is* his stomok / and cast*is* out at his mouth / þe euill humor*is* þat war corruppit w*t*in him / Richtsua be confessioune verbale maid to þe preist louete*n*nand of god / the synnar cast*is* furth all the venome of syn that was in his saule and purg*is* him / p*er*fitlie þarof / and he distroyis þe syn and the innemy / makand confessioun / for þe natur of the syn is þat it wauld be secret and þat the innemy p*er*suad*is* And quhe*n* þe synnar manifest*is* it be confessioun he distroyis it / And þus þe synnar vsand þis sac*ra*me*n*t / deliuer*is* him of the syn and cast*is* it fra him / as a werray traytour þat has [263r] falslie desauit him / and latt*is* it nouthir duell in his hert na mynd / bot putt*is* it out be contr*i*cioun na ȝit in his mouth bot cast*is* it out be confessioun / And in his deid he distroyis it / for he mak*is* satisfac/cioun at is werk and operacioun contrar to þe syn and þarfor be ressoune be m*er*cy & grace / god has ordand his louete*n*nand to absolȝe þe synnar fra all syn and pane et*er*nal / þat he suld haue incurrit þarfor / sayand *Ego absoluo te* / And þus þou may knaw and wnd*er*stand / þat ih*es*us has ordand and institut twa sac*ra*ment*is* / that ar twa gret and souu*er*ane medycynis that ar bapteme and pe*n*naunce agane originale actual mortal syn And thir sac*ra*ment*is* distroyis the sy*n*nis / as the euill humoris ⟨w⟩ & wenom*us* / bot be diu*er*s maner*is* / the bapteme

be maner of purgacioun lax/atiue of the wame / þat begy*n*nis abone & passis vnd*er* and purg*is* all the humor*is* / and is done w^{t} litle wiolens / bot the sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce purg*is* / *Per modum vomitus* / and begy*n*nis beneth and end*is* abon w^{t} gret wiolens vomitus is maid / sa pe*n*naunce w^{t} gret dolour and tristes *etc.*[1]

[263v] This folowand cheptur declar*is* the ordour of natur and iustice and comperis the stat of innocens and the fallin of Adam to þis pur state

The[1] hie power infinit wisdome & beneuo/lens of god maid the man p*er*fit in natur & grace / in the stat of innocens / Bot of his awne will and temptacioun of the innemy he fell in syn and gret mise*re* And for Souuerane remeid of that to bring þe ma*n* agane to blis and ioy / þe sone of god ih*es*us come in the waurld / and tuk our humanite / and deit for ws and for o*ur* redempcioun and saluacioun Richtsua in the regeneracioun and sp*iri*tual stat þat ih*es*us has ordand for o*ur* redempcioun / first he of his grace has maid þe p*er*soune haly full of wertu and grace and deliu*er*it him fra syn / be the wertu of þe haly sac*ra*m*en*t of bapteme Bot eft*ir* ⟨þe⟩ this þe p*er*soune *com*mounly fallis fra wertu and grace / þat he resauit in the bapteme / be mortall syn *com*mittit be him / and þan fallis in the hand & power of iustice / And as in the first tyme Eft*ir* þat he fell fra original iustice and innocens he my*ch*t no*ch*t be helpit bot be the mercy and the passioun of ih*es*u Richtsua eft*ir* þat the ma*n* fallis fra / þe grace baptismale and tynis it / and the hie and noble w*er*tuis / þat he has resauit þar/ / *com*mittand diu*er*s sy*n*nis and t*er*mys he can no*ch*t rys / na [264r] Cum to þat stat agane na to þe eq*ui*ual*en*t w[t]out the m*er*cy and grace of god And þarfor to rais him and bring him fra syn ih*es*us of his m*er*cy and grace has ordanit and institut þis haly sac*ra*m*en*t of pe*n*naunce / and as sais sanct ierome it is / *Secunda tabula post naufragiu*m And in this secund state the ma*n* þat fallis fra grace and *com*mitt*is* syn he faut*is* no*ch*t ane*r*ly agane god his creator & makar ⟨and redemptour and⟩ bot als agane his souueran lord his creator makar and redempto*ur* And þus the syn that the c*ri*stin ma*n* *com*mitt*is* suld be gretlie punyst consid*er*and the gret luf / þat ih*es*us has schawin to him / in a thousand maner of wais /

and principaly in his passioun / þat he suffer*it* for him And sene ih*es*us werray god deit and tholit passion for þe syn of Adam / and now he is i*n*mortale / and ma de na mar / to put away our sy*nn*is / he has ordand and institut þis haly sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce þat represent*is* and is the memor of his passioun for to deliu*er* ws fra our sy*nn*is / And sene the ma*n* is consauit in syn originale w^{t}out his awne consent / þarfor the bapteme w^{t}out his prop*er* consent / and he haue no*ch*t the wse of ressoune deli/uer*is* him fra it / bot sene we *com*mittit actuale mortale syn of our awin consent / Our propir will and consent is requirit to deliu*er* ws fra it The first ma*n* in the stat of innocens / had na thing in him self / to inclyn him to euill or syn / bot the caus of his syn was the innemy / that inducit him þar to / Bot the cr*i*stin ma*n* eft*ir* þe bapteme / has w^{t}in him self his awne prop*er* ⟨iicl⟩ inclinacioun and flesch þat inclinis him to syn / and [264v] als the innemy gretlie tempand him / And þarfor eft*ir* that consideracioun þe syn of the ma*n* eft*ir* the bapteme suld be ressoune be erar forgevin þan Adam*is* syn And sene the syn of ma*n* is infinit offence *denominacione extrinsica* / for it is *com*mittit agane god / þat is of infinit dignite / þarfor it requir*is* infinit reparacioun / þat the ma*n* may no*ch*t do of his self þarfor it requir*is* the passioun of ih*es*u þat is of infinit merit / And the sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce applyis þat haly pas/sioun to þe ma*n* And sene þai ar twa man*er* of sy*nn*is p*ar*t publict and manifest / and vthir p*ar*t secret / þarfor þe kyrk has ordand twa maner of iustice and iugeme*n*t ane publict & ane secret / *in foro consciencie* / And sene the sy*nn*is publict & manifest induc*is* publict offence and sklande*r* / þarfor þai suld be punyst manifestlie / bot the sy*nn*is þat ar sacret mist*er*is reuelacioun and confessioun / þarfor þe punicioun and iuge/me*n*t of þame is ordand þe sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce / that be the confessioune þai be reuelit / and the preist þat her*is* the confessioun*is* / i*n*iunys pe*n*naunce and gevis absolucioun is the iuge and all thir thing*is* Cont*r*icioun confessioun and pe*n*naunce þat þe p*er*sone tak*is* and sustenis / all suld be voluntar / and the p*er*soune suld do þame of fredome and liberte And the mar fredome and liberte þat the p*er*soune has doand thir thing*is* / þe bett*ir* it is / and he has the mar merit And in this secret and p*ar*ticular iugeme*n*t / þe synnar accusis him self / and the mar schame he haue it is the bett*ir* /

and the pennaunce is mar ⟨v⟩ lovable And becaus this sacrament is necessar to þe man / þat fallis & [265r] synnis eftir the bapteme / and men ar in mony diuers placis and realmes it is necessar / þat þar be mony iugis þat has power science and autorite to remytt the syn / þat be þar help and þis sacrament / þe men may rys fra þar syn And sene the werkis of god ar all in ordour Tharfor þis power at the preist and kyrkmen / has to iuge punys and remyt þe syn suld be ordinat / þat þar be ane vniuersale iuge and louetennand vniuersal of ihesu / þat gevis power and autorite / to all the laif our all the waurld And as in the first fallin of Adam / quhen he tynt þe hie gyfte[1] of iustice originale / and fell fra þe stat of innocens in him remanit the ymage of the creatur / þat was in the saule and fre arbiter of the man / þocht it was deformyt and fylit / for and þat had bene away / nouthir had þar bene foundment na hope euir to rys agane fra syn to perfeccioun / bot the man be his syn and faute / tynt the similitud of his creatur / þat was hevinly grace & iustice originale / Richtsua in the secund state / quhen þe man fallis in syn / eftir þat he has resauit the haly bapteme / þar remanis in him þe ymage of the redemptour that is the carectar / and takin of cristianite / þat was impressit in his saule / quhen he was baptist / and tuk þe cristianite For and it remanit nocht / þar war na hop & foundament to rys and turne agane fra syn to perfeccioun and grace bot quhen þe man fallis in syn eftir the bapteme / he tynis the perfit similitude of his redemptor ihesu / þat is grace and spiritual lif / and cummys agane to it / be þe sacrament [265v] of pennaunce / tharfor it is richt proffitable / and necessar alway to þe synnar And in the begynnyng of the bibill and buk of genesis / quhen god maid the man he said / *faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram / & iterum Ad ymaginem dei factus est homo* / Bot the man quhen he fell in syn tynt the similitud of his creator / and ȝit remanit in him his ymage Richtsua quhen ihesus our redemptor generis ws spiritualy in the bapteme he causis in ws his ymage and similitude he gevis ws his carectar / and takin of cristianite / And als he gevis ws baith wertu and grace / bot quhen we fall in syn mortale we tyn þe perfit similitude of our redemptor ihesus þat is spirituale lif merit wertu and grace / Bot ȝit remanis in ws his ymage / bot hevely deformyt and blekkit w[t] our syn And þis

haly sacrament of pennaunce may be ȝit comperit to þe sacrament of bapteme / for as the sacrament of bapteme lefis part of fautis in the body as carnale concupiscence / that is callit *fomes* and gret inclinacioun to syn / agane the quhilk the saule suld feicht and strif als lang as it is in the body And in þat it has gret merit / bot in the saule it lefis na syn na ȝit na thing folowand þar of / bot makis it cleir and bricht Richtsua this haly sacrament of pennaunce lefis eftir the remissioun of the syn / and eftir þat grace is gevin to þe saule / it lefis / and ȝit remanis in the saule disposicioun inclinacioun / and habilite to syn And thir things war causit generit and producit in the saul be the operacioun of syn / for all operacioun gud or euill lefis eftir it the similitude of it in the saule / and þat similitud at remanis inclinis the man to gud or ⟨eul⟩ euill eftir as the operacioun was gud or euill / þat causit[1] [266r] and producit it / And to wnderstand this mater mar cler/lie þou suld knaw and wnderstand / þat eftir the syn & euill operacioun / and werk at the man dois / eftir þat þe opera/cioun and werk pasis / þar remanis twa things / ane is þe syn / and offence of god / and of þat folowis obligacioun to pane eternale The secund thing is þe habituall inclina/cioun and disposicioun / þat the man has eftir his syn and euill operacioun/ / to do siclik werkis 'for' as I said befor / þat is the natur of the werkis and operacioun of men / þat euir þai leif þar similitude to wyrk sic thing as wes the ope/racioun / þat þai ar producit and causit by / for be natur we se / that þe barne folowis the natur & inclina/cioun of the fader and the moder þat generis it / And procedand mar profoundlie and subtilie in þis mater I desyr þat all cristin peple knaw and wnderstand þat in the syn / þat man committis þar is twa things to be considerit and wnderstand The first maist principale and heviest / is the auersioun and contempcioun of god his souuerane maieste wisdome beneuolens and autorite And gif þou knawis or trowis at his power / and dignite is mekle / þou may weill knaw and wnderstand / þat his awne creatur þat he has maid and deit for / fautis mekle agane him / quhen it offendis him / and puttis all the plesaunce of it in things contrar and repugnand to his commandment and law The secund thing þat is in the syn / is þat þe creator of god man or woman / that committis syn inordinatlie / agane wertu ressoune & wisdome

[266v] of his awne prop*er* will turnis agane þe creatur & tak*is* no*cht* plesaunce in him obey*is* no*cht* to his *com*mand mak*is* na compt of þe tinsal of þe hevinly and et*er*nall pre/miacioun / for obedi*en*s and luf of him / na dred*is* no*cht* the dampnacioun et*er*nall bot turnis & putt*is* *in*ordinat/lie all plesaunce in the creatur preponand þe will and plesaunce of it / to þe will and plesaunce of god *inter*pretatiue *ad*[1] *min*us / The first in the syn / that is *in*iur and contempcioun of god of his autorite / and auersioun fra him is maist principale in the syn / bot þe *con*uersioun plesaunce and dilectacioun tane in the creatur and vicius dis- posicioun and inclinacioun causit þar by / to sic euill operacioun is the secund thing in þe dedly and mortale syn And thir twa complet*is* þe deidly syn / for þai sevir and p*ar*t*is* þe saule of the p*er*soune fra god / þat is þe hevinly and sp*iri*tuale lif of the saule / þsalmus *Mors peccatorum pessima* / bot for þi consola/cioun & help I declar the / þat gif it be sua / þat þe ma*n* turne to þe creatur and haue *in*ordinat plesaunce & dilectacioun þarin mar þan he suld / bot ȝit for that lefis no*cht* god / bot euir has his speciall and principale luf and traist '*in* hi*m*' and brek*is* no*cht* his law and *com*mandme*n*t / þan þe ma*n* *com*mitt*is* venial syn & no*cht* deidly syn / and þis is a gret doctrine / I gif þe / for all doctour*is* / þat euir passit and has bene had gret difficulte to assigne / and put difference betuix [267r] deidly and venial syn / and an*en*s the principale thing that is in the deidly syn that is auersioun fra god þar is na gret differens betuix þe deidlie sy*n*nis / *q*uia *nega*tio *vel* p*ri*ua*ti*o *pro*p*ri*e *non* *susci*p*it* *mag*is *aut* *min*us / this I say groslie to þe pepil / bot an*en*s the conu*er*sioun and plesaunce þat þe ma*n* or woma*n* takis in the creatur*is* *con*uertand to þame / þar is gret diu*er*site betuix þe sy*n*nis / And þus þo*cht* þe haly sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce / be ordand be ih*es*u / and has wertu be his merit and passioun glori*us* to distroy þe syn and the offence *com*mittit agane god / and to deliuer the p*er*soune fra dampnacioun et*er*nall / and bring him to þe realme of paradice / quhar þar is ioy and blis et*er*nal Neuirtheles it distroyis no*cht* the inclinacioun disposicioun and habit þat the syn / and euill operacioun lefis eftir þame / be the inclinacioun and plesaunce / that þe p*er*soune tuk in the creatur / bot it waik*is* þat inclinacioun and disposicioun / that it haue no*cht* regne na dom*in*acioun in the saule of the ma*n* / it

gevis þe man strenth help and suple to feicht agane þat inclinacioun & to our cum it & to haue gret premiacioun and reward þarfor / And sene this haly sacrament of pennaunce restoris a man to spirituale lif / þat he had tynt befor / and be this haly sacrament þe man is in spirituale lif and may tak spirituale nurising of the haly sacrament / of the blissit body of ihesu / þat he mycht nocht befor / for caus he was deid spiritualy And þe deid persoune may nocht resaue corporale na spiritual nurysing [267v] þarfor eftir the sacrament of pennaunce the man may w^t^ gret merit resaue the haly body of ihesu in the haly sacrament of þe eucharist / and w^t^out pennaunce and in syn / he suld na maner of way resaue it / for he dois gret lak and iniur to god his creator and ihesu his redemptor to hauld sacretlie in his hert for his mynȝeoun and tendir freind thar mor/tale innemy at is deidly syn and the innemy of hell and mak him to resaue god and ihesu in his hert þai beand þar And þou knawis weill / þat he dois ihesu als mekle lac and sklander as he wauld sla him / for he wauld agan his will acord him w^t^ his mortale innemy / or subiek ihesu to him / that may nocht be / for he is god of all power and maieste / And þis is in all maner agane þe institu/cioun and significacioun of þis sacrament / þat is the sacrament of vnite and pes and vnioun / And sene he þat is in syn is diuidit fra ihesu / and is his innemy he suld nocht presume to resaue his haly body þat is iunyt w^t^ the diuinite na his saule na ihesu na þe godheid in that haly sacrament / bot first clenge him and w^t^ all humilite honor reuerens and subiecioun submyt him to ihesu / for and he do nocht þat / he takis nocht þis sacra/ment for his saluacioun bot finale distruccioun as sais Sanct paule / *Probet autem seipsum homo / et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat / qui autem manducat & bibit indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit non diiudicans* ⟨*o*⟩ *corpus domini* And sene we se in natur þat eftir seknes / þat þe man has had / the fever or vthir seknes / þar remanis part of euill disposicioun [268r] that þe naturale heit of the stomok / and of þe persone be wertu and operacioun of it puttis away Richtsua þe euill inclinacioun causit be syn / remanis eftir the sacrament of pennaunce is put away be the hevinly fyr and heit of cherite / þat cummys be the sacrament of the eucharist / þat is of the haly body and blud of ihesu And the sacrament of þe body of ihesu causis inclinacioun

and disposicioun repugnant to syn and inclinand to grace mannis help suple and saluacioun / And þus þe haly eucha/rist puttis away þe euill and wykkit inclinacioun / þat is causit be syn and euill operacioun and puttis þe man in perfit state / and þus eftir þat þe man commyt mor/tale syn / thir twa sacramentis pennaunce and þe haly eucharist / ar necessar to put away þe syn & to perseueir and grow in spiritual lif And þarfor þe cristin pepill suld gretlie wse and exers thir twa sacramentis / And þat þe cristin peple knaw and wnderstand / þat þai suld nocht resaue the haly eucharist bot clene and out of syn / þe haly kyrk has ordand / þat þe tyme þat þe pepil resauis þe haly eucharist / þat þai suld confes þame / to þar proper prest / at is þar curat or vthir haffand power of all þar synnis anys in the 3er / as sais þe canone law *Omnis* ⟨*vt*⟩[1] *vtriusque sexus tenetur semell in anno confiteri proprio sacerdoti* The mater in þis sacrament / ar þe operacioun[2] of the penitent / and þai ar callit þe thre partis of penance [268v] Contricioun in the mynd and hert of the persoune / quhen the persoune has dolour and tristes of the syn þat he has committit / and purposis eftir nocht to syn na offend god his creator The secund part is verbale confessioun / for the penitent suld schaw to þe preist that is his iuge *in foro consciencie* / all haill the synnis that he has committit / that he was nocht confessit of befor / als fer as he may memor or think one he suld nocht diuide his confessioun / schawand part of his synnis to a confessour / and vthir part to ane vthir bot all to ane / þe thrid part is satisfaccioun for þe syn Eftir þe ordinaunce of the confessour / and þis is done be almus praer and fasting And of all thir I haue tretit at lenth in twa bukis I maid befor in þe castell of Edinburgh in þis langage / þe first lentryn þat I preichit in þis tovne / Ane is of the commandmentis and vthir things pertenand to þe saluacioun of man The topir is of þe tabill of confessioun / ⟨in⟩ þe forme of þis sacrament ar þe wourdis of absolucioun of þe preist / quhen he assol3eis þe synnar *Ego absoluo te a peccatis tuis in nomine patris & filii & spiritus sancti amen* The minister of þis sacrament is the preist þat has autorite to absol3e the synnar Owthir the persoune & curat / or ellis a preist / þat þe paip or þe ourman has gevin autorite to / The proffit and vtilite of þis sacrament is richt gret and merwalus / agane the wertu of þis haly sacrament errit

nouatiniani / þat said þat a ma*n* that [269r] synnit eft*ir* the bapteme / gat no*ch*t forgevnes / na come no*ch*t agane to grace be the wertu of pe*n*naunce þis is herresie agane the haly euuangell and all the halysc*ri*ptur and agane the faith / and sanct iohnne sais *apo*calypsis secundo *Memor esto vnde excideris / et age penitenciam & prima opera fac* The sacrame*n*t of bapteme imp*ri*mys þe carectar and is agane þe originale syn / that it is bot ane And þarfor þe p*er*soune þat is anys baptist / may no*ch*t be baptist agane Bot this sacrame*n*t of pe*n*naunce is sp*iri*tual medycyn agane actual mortale syn that is *com*mittit oft tymes / and þarfor daily it may be wsit / for þo*ch*t þou fall in deidly syn a hunder thousand tymes ȝit euir þou may rys agane to grace be wertu of þis sacrame*n*t of pe*n*naunce / And concludand þou sall wnde*r*stand / þat als lang as þe saule is in þi body and þou haue wit and wse of ressoune and liberte þou may euir be deliuerit fra þi sy*n*nis be cont*ri*cioun and pe*n*nauns / how gret or how mony þat euir þai be for þe medycyn þat is þe passioun of ih*es*u and þis sac*ra*me*n*t is mekle mar precius and wourthi na all þe seknes of syn is p*er*alus or euill / for þou may weill knaw / þat þe speciell werk*is* of god and ih*es*u excedis in gudnes the euill and wikitnes of ma*n etc.*

[269v] This folowand cheptur declar*is* the gret proffit þat t*ri*bula/cioun adu*er*site and corporale affliccioun dois to þe man / quhe*n* he sustenis it wilfully / owthir i*n*iunyt to him in pe*n*-/naunce or vthir way / And quhow gretar proffit is to þe ma*n* to susteyne and compleit his pe*n*naunce heir erar þan eft*ir* his deces / and passyn hyn in purgator

As[1] I haue said befor and declarit the sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce putt*is* away þe syn / and gevis grace / bot eft*ir* it / rema/nis þe vicius inclinacioun disposicioun affeccioun / and habit*is* / causit befor be euill operacioun that inclinis the saule of the ma*n* to carnale and waur(l)dly[2] dilectacioun / and plesaunce / And þat euill inclinacioun habituall and effeccioun / þat remanis in the ma*n* / eft*ir* þe remissioun of his syn / putt*is* impedime*n*t and latt*is* him in a p*ar*t to folou ih*es*u / to luf him our all thing / and putt all his plesaunce & dilectacioun in him And þarfor thir inclinacioun*is* habituall causit of syn [270r] ar gretlie contrar and repu*n*gnand to þe saule and gud of it / for all the gud and p*er*feccion[3] of the saule is to be *con*iunyt w[t] ih*es*u / be werray hartlie luf & cherite / and þe mar and gretar that þe luf be / þe mar is the p*er*soune i*n* merit / and the mar p*er*fit / and gif he p*er*seuer*is* þar in / he sal haue þe hier and mar noble stat in þe ioy and glor et*er*nal / And als the euill / syn & p*er*di/cioun of the p*er*soune is to be seuerit fra ih*es*u / to tyn his haly luf / and to tak his luf and plesaunce in þe creatur*is* / for þat luf of þe creatur inordinat infekk*is* the p*er*soune and blind*is* him / And þarfor all man*er* of thing þat retrahis and drawis / þe saule fra carnale dilectacioun / and waurldly plesaunce / and fra þe inordinat and vicius luf / and effeccioun of the creatur*is* helpis gretlie the ma*n* for remissioun & delicioun of pane / and of þai euill qualiteis / and inclinacioun / that it incurrit befor throu syn & euill

operacioun / for as in the syn ar twa thing*is* / *i.e. auersio ab incommutabili bono i.e. a deo / et hoc est formale & principale in peccato / 2*[m] *est conuersio ad commutabile bonum i.e. creaturam & hoc est materiale quasi & minus principale* Richtsua in the noble and wertuis operacioun penite*n*/cial / þar is a thing principale / *i.e. conuersio ad dominum & incommutabile bonum* that is quhe*n* þe synnar turnis to þe luf of god / for think*is* þe faute / and trespas [270v] done agane him The secund is / *Auersio a bono commuta/bili i.e. a creatura et hoc est minus principale* / that is quhe*n* the synnar and penite*n*t turnis fra þe inordinat affeccioun and luf þat he has had to þe creatur*is* / and waurldly thing*is* / as ar the luf inordinat of ma*n* or woma*n* / riches hono*u*r and all vthir sic thing 'and t*u*rnis to the lufe obedience & se*r*uice of god / I said befor þ*a*t all thinge'[1] þat bring*is* a pe*r*soune fra þe inordinat luf and affeccioun of the creatur to luf and hono*u*r god / is richt proffitable to þe pe*r*soune And sene adue*r*site t*ri*bulacioun and waurldly displesaunce and bodely payn / causis þe ma*n* to leif þe carnale dilectacioun / and waurldly plesaunce / for þa*n* þe saule has na dilectacioun na plesauns to duell in the body / na in the waurld / for it gust*is* na plesaunce of þame/ / Tharfor thir thing*is* þat is to say / waurldly adue*r*site / truble / and bodely payn / helpis gretlie to purge and purifye þe saule fra euill inclinacioun & vicius / þat remanis eft*ir* the syn / that I haue spokin of befor for thir thing*is* causis the saule and pe*r*soune to fle and leif carnale dilectacioun / and plesaunce / for þai pe*r*saue na sueitnes in þame / and þe luf of ihesu þat we haue to him / for þe passioun þat he has sufferit for us and þe vthir noble gift*is* / þat he has gevin ws vnys and iunys ws w[t] ihesu / and cleng*is* þe saule fra euill effeccioun / þat I haue spokin of befor And be thir thing*is* þe saule of þe pe*r*soune is gretlie fortifyit exaltit and iunyt w[t] ihesu / and mak*is* na compt of the waurld [271r] And thir twa thing*is* / þat is þe waurldly truble / and adue*r*site / and the luf of ihesu þe pe*r*soune suld accept of the prope*r* will / w[t] liberte / w[t]out ony coaccioun / for þan þai draw the pe*r*soune's' fra þe luf of the flesch and þe waurld / to se*r*ue ihesu / to put all þar plesaunce and confede*n*s in him / for as the carnale dilecciou*n* & waurldly ple/sauns & hono*u*r drawis the saule to folow the will of þe body / and plesauns of it / richtsua the waurldly tru/ble / and adue*r*site and bodely payn

walknys þe saule to consider þe peral it is in / and quhat p*re*miacioun it is able to tyne in paradice / and glor et*er*nal / and quhat payn it is able till incur in et*er*nal dampna/cioun / for þe carnal dilectacioun and waurldly ple/saunce / lest*is* for na tyme / bot in place of þame cu*m*/mys sone gret m*er*walus payn adu*er*site and truble And gif this payn corporale / and truble cu*m*mys be þe ordinaunce of the confessour in pe*n*naunce / as i*n*iunand pilg*ri*mage or folowis seknes be fasting it is rycht meritor and acceptable no*ch*t an*er*ly of the self bot be þe passioun of ih*es*u And þe sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce / and geve it cu*m*mys be the send of god / it is souuerane medycyn for the saule and richt acceptable Tharfor as ih*es*us of his grace / has ordand þe haly sac*ra*ment*is* / for o*ur* helpe suple medycyn and saluacioun / Richtsua he has ordand payn truble and adu*er*site for to clenge us fra syn / and [271v] fra the euill sequelis / that remanis eft*ir* it / And als lange as the waurld indur*is* / sa lang sall indur þe haly sac*ra*ment*is* / payn truble and adu*er*site / for sene the c*ri*stin peple in the waurld ar ordand to wyrk gud and meritor werk*is* and cum to þe realme of paradice et*er*nal / it is necessar at the furnace vne and fir of t*ri*bulacioun remane heir to baik þe breid / and caus þe merit þat sall bring ws all to glor and ioy et*er*nale / and he þat refusis t*ri*bulacioun ⟨purgis⟩ adu*er*site and payn is no*ch*t abill to cum to þe haly realme of ih*es*u / for t*ri*bulacioun purg*is* and cleng*is* þe saule it mak*is* satisfaccioun it causis gret merit in the p*er*soune / it seuer*is* the p*er*soune fra car/nale dilectacioun and waurldly plesaunce / it bind*is* the saule in mariage w^{t} ih*es*u Tharfor þe gud c*ri*stin ma*n* suld richt gretlie be emplesit / quhe*n* god visis him w^{t} thir thing*is* / and als quhe*n* þe confesso*ur* i*n*iunys þame to him for sp*irit*ual medycyn agane his syn / And gif it happi*n* at þe saule of þe c*ri*stin ma*n* / p*ar*t out of þis pur lif w^{t}out haill satisfaccioun completit & done / for þe culpe and syn / it is ressoune & necessar for þe p*er*feccioun of the creatur*is* and complem*en*t of þe devin iustice / þat it thole payn and mak satisfaccioun or it ent*er* in þe hevinly & et*er*nal glor / and þat all the euil inclinacioun and affeccioun causit be syn / and euill operacioun / that I haue spokin of befor be distroyit and wndoune / for þis imp*er*feccioun / and obligacioun to payne may no*ch*t stand w^{t} glor & beatitud [272r] et*er*nal / and p*er*fit vnioun w^{t} god

/ Tharfor þe saule mon be *per*fitlie purgit and clengit fra all this / or it cum þar / And quhe*n* þe saule of þe pe*r*soune passis furth of the body / it p*artis* fra þe court of mercy of god and ente*r*is in the court of werray iustice / And sene þe werray iustice of god is sa hie and gret / þat mar iustice / may no*cht* be ymaginit na wnde*r*stand / for his iustice is souuerane our all creatur and infinit in hevin rewar/dand / in hell punyssand / in Erd and in all place / *p*salmus *Si ascendero in celum tu illic es / Si discendero in infernum tu ades Si sumpsero pennas meas diluculo & habitauero in extremis maris / etenim illuc manus tua deducet me et tenebit me dextera tua* / Tharfor na creat*ur* may euade na enschew þe hie iustice of god / and sene he hat*is* þe syn and iniquite our all thing / and his power is sa hie and stark / geve it be no*cht* sufficientlie punyst / in þis pur lif / þou may weill wnde*r*stand and knaw þat he will punys it / eft*ir* þat þe saule p*art* fra þe body And sene þan he excersis his extreme iustice / and þe tyme of mercy of remissioun and forgevin is past þou suld wnde*r*stand and trow þat þe saule sal be punyst þan w^{t} sic rigour and extremite / þat na lefand ma*n* nor woma*n* / may knaw the gret seuerite & bitte*r*nes of it Tharfor gret wisdome is to thole payne and adue*r*site and compleit þi pe*n*naunce in this pur lif / quhar god fitt*is* and iug*is* in the court of mercy and euir is reddy to forgif the sy*n*nis / And has [272v] ordand the hevinly medycinis / þe vii sac*rament*is that ar callit *vasa gracie et misericordie* / þarfor þou suld no*cht* delay the satisfaccioun and p*re*solucioun of payn that þou mone thole for þe syn and suffe*r* it / or[1] þe tym of the p*ar*tin of þi body and þi saule / for þa*n* þi saule ente*r*is in the court of extreme iustice / And euir for a litle payn þat wauld deliuer it heir in the court of mercy / þou sal susteyne þar excedand intollerable and i*n*ymaginable payn / for þe payn of hell is sa cruell / sa hevy and sa te*r*rible / þat it apperis þat þe iuge / þat has gevin þe te*r*rible sen/tens on þame / and punysis þame sa gretlie þat he war almaist / *com*movit to wodnes agane þa*im* / he is sa te*r*rible in his punicioun / And als the saulis þat eft*ir* þar passin hyn ar punyst in p*ur*gator þai ar sa gretlie punyst / þat it aper*is* þat the iuge is me*r*walus crabbit agane þame / þat þai wauld no*cht* fulfill þar pe*n*naunce heir and þus the punicioun heir is richt me*r*cifull / and the prophet Sanct dauid / þat blissit ih*es*us discendit of in his humanite /

considerand all this prait god / þat he wauld nocht punys him in hell / for his synnis quhar he schawis in his furor na in purgatori quhar he schawis his crabitnes / bot in þis pur waurld quhar he iugis and punysis in þe court of mercy he sais / þsalmus *domine ne in furore tuo* [273r] *arguas me i.e. in inferno / neque in ira tua corripias me i.e. in purgatorio Sed miserere mei domine quoniam infirmus sum i.e. puneas me in hoc mundo in curia tue*[1] misericordie and eftir in the same psalme he sais þe sam/myn thing in his prayer *Quoniam non est in morte qui memor sic tui* / Eftir the deid of the persoune and partin of the saule / it is nocht 'in' the way of meritor operacioun bot tholis hevy payn in purgator / *in inferno autem quis confitebitur tibi* Tharfor he tholit his payn and completit his pennaunce in þis pur lif / he sais / *laboraui in gemitu meo lauabo* þer *singulas noctes lectum meum lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo* And þus the saule / that has nocht sustenit the pane ordand to it for the syn / by the court of mercy in þis lif mone susteyne gret and hevy payn in purgator for evin as the saule beand in the body is purifiit and clengit be tribulacioun & affliccioun / at it tholis in the body / and causis it to tak na plesaunce in the carnale dilectacioun / na in the waurldly things / bot turnis to þe luf of ihesu / richtsua the saule þat has partit fra þe body and has the euill affeccioun / and inclinacioun / causit of þe synnis / þat ar forgevin and has nocht sustenit þe payn þat it was oblist to susteyne / mon be puri/fiet sustenand payn dolour and tristes / w[t] the luf of ihesu / for þe saule þat is in purgator is [273v] in cherite and lufis god our all thing / And sene medycyn and purgacioun ar wrocht and done / be the contrar and the saule committit the syn / havand inordinat dilec/tacioun and plesaunce in þe flesch / and waurldly plesaunce Richtsua medycyn and purgacioun of þat suld be payn dolour and tribulacioun / and the mar dilectacioun and plesaunce þat þe persoune has tane in the waurldly things / þe mar payn & tourment þe saule mon susteyn *iuxta illud scripture / quantum in deliciis fuit tantum date ei tormenti & luctus* / And þis purgacioun and affliccioun is done princi/paly / be the operacioun of the materiall fyr for sene þe saule offendit god þe creatur in dishobeysaunce contempnand him and his law takand dilectacioun in þe creaturis corporale and material / and in his hert and luf preponit þaim to god be werray

ressoune and iustice þe saule of the ma*n* þat preponit in dilecciou*n* þe bodely creatur / as luf of ma*n* or woma*n* of silver or gold to god / suld be subiekkit to þe bodely creatur*is* & thole payne dolour tristes and tourme*n*t be opera/cioun of þame / for god vtouth þe court of m*er*cy and in the court of werray iustice / suld be mar stark in his puniciou*n* / afflicciou*n* and payne na was the ma*n* in taking plesaunce & dilecta/cioun to him agane his law & ordinaunce And sene þe euill angellis and saulis preponit þe [274r] creatur*is* to god in þar dilectaciou*n* / and plesaunce / be ressoune god þat is lord of all creatur suld in puniciou*n* of þat / prepone þe bodely creatur*is* to þai*m* and caus þame to induce / afflicciou*n* dolour & tristes as instrume*n*t*is* obeyand to him in the ⟨sl⟩ puniciou*n* of þe sp*irit*ual creatur*is* / as angellis and saulis / þat prepo*n*it þame to him in þar hert and tuk þar dilectaciou*n* inordinat and plesaunce in þame / agane his ordinaunce and *com*mand / And þus be ressoune þe euill angellis & dampnit saulis / ar put in þe hevy and foule place maist distant fra þe hevin / *apud centrum terre* / And the filth of all the Eleme*n*t*is* and bodely natur*is* salbe þar in augme*n*tacioun / And Ekin of þar payn / And sene the fyr is the Eleme*n*t / and bodely natur maist punitiue and afflictiue Tharfor god in his court & iugeme*n*t of rigorus iustice / be werray ressoune has ordand it for instrume*n*t punitiue / And þis fyr byrnis punys*is* and tourme*n*t*is* þame / bot it consumys na distroyis þai*m* no*c*ht And as the saule of the ma*n* / þo*c*ht it be sp*irit*ual as it tuk plesaunce and dilectaciou*n* inordinat / in þe bodely thing*is* / agane the ordinaunce of god & ressoun Richtsua the hevinly iustice of god / be power and wis/dome may do and caus it / to haue gret displesaunce of the bodely thing*is* / and thole dolour payn & tourme*n*t be þar operaciou*n* and wyrkin / And sene þou seis þ*at* god has vnit the saule / of the ma*n* to þe body / and maid a ma*n* and p*er*soune of þame / þou may weill wnd*er*stand [274v] þat god may festyn and iune þe deuill or the damp/nit saule p*er*petualy & vnseueralie / to þe bodely fyr for execucioun of his iustice / in afflicciou*n* of pane And sen god has vnyt and cuplyt the saule of the ma*n* w^{t} the body / and gevin it appetit / and desyr to remane euir insepara(b)ly^{t} w^{t} it / and tak plesaunce sensaciou*n* and dilecciou*n* in it / be mene and causaciou*n* of it Thou may weill consid*er* and wnd*er*stand / þat god may cupil

the euill angell / or the dampnit saule to þe bodely fyr / and geue ilkane of þame desyr and inclinacioun in the contrar / and caus dreid and horrour in þame affliccioun and payn / in samekle þat it is done and continuit euir p*er*petualy agane þar will / and caus þame to p*er*saue þe op*er*acioun and actiuite of the bodely fyr in the complem*en*t of þe hie iustice / for all dolour pane and tristes / that god may caus in the saule of the p*er*soune quh*en* it is iunyt w^{t} the body / be op*er*acioun of the fyr[1] 'he ma caus be 'þe' op*er*/aciou*n*e of þe fyr'[2] w^{t}out the body / for his power is na mar na les / w^{t} the body of þe ma*n* to caus or produce ony thing / na it is w^{t}out it / sene his power is infinit / and the reule of theologi sais / *quicquid potest facere mediante causa 2*^{a} / *hoc potest facere sine ea* / And þus sene the creatur agane and incontrar to þe will of god has wsit plesaunce / and dilectacioun / in punicioun of þat / be werray ressoune god suld caus þe creatur humane / to thole payn & trouble / agan the prop*er* inclinacioun will and desyr of it / in the [275r] saule of the creatur humane / And þus þe gret luf of ih*es*u / and ardent cherite walknyt and helpit be the gret payn trouble and p*er*ceptible dolour of the fyr cleng*is* the saule to pas fra payn of purga/tor to et*er*nal lif and saluacioun / as the gold is p*ur*git be the fyr / and gif þar be ony iustice in god to gouern the waurld he reward*is* gud deid*is* heir or i*n* vthir place / he punysis þe euill operacioun / heir or eft*ir* þar passing of þe saule away / fra þis pur taberna/kle and carnale habitacioun / and þame þ*a*t deis in deidly syn / he punysis et*er*naly / and þame þ*a*t deis in syn venial / or w^{t}out compleit satisfaccioun and w^{t} euill inclinacioun and affeccioun no*ch*t purgit i*n* this waurld / befor þar deid he punysis temporalie And þo*ch*t the saulis of gud c*r*istin me*n* pas furt*h* of this waurld w^{t}out playn and cleir satisfaccioun for þar syn '& w^{t} þe euil habit*is* & disposicion*is* causit befor of syn/'[3] and euill operacioun Neuirtheles þe meritor thingis and werk*is* þat ar done for þame in this waurld proffit*is* to þame richt gretlie / and be thir werk*is* of prayer almus and fasting þai resaue þe influens and gret merit / of þe haly passioun of ih*es*u / for caus þai ar his me*m*bris and se*r*uaund*is* *Et de corpore eius mistico* The haly saulis in purgator / and þai þ*a*t lyff*is* in this waurld / all ar me*m*bris of ih*es*u & *sub vno capite quod est* / Christus *et de corpore eius mistico* / And þis payn sustenit for þame in the

waurld / þat the 275v gud *cr*istin peple dois be fasting almus and praver makis na impediment to þe iustice of god / for þat was þar merit or þai passit of this waurld / þat þai thingis suld help þame / and god ordand þat / of his hie *merc*y and luf / þat he had to our natur and ma*n*kind

This folowand cheptur declaris for the gret help and saluacioun of the cristin peple mony diuers persuasionis to men and women / tocum to þe haly sacrament of pen/naunce and ask mercy at god to rys fra þar syn and get remissioun þar of

And[1] sene it is sua that the man that has committit deidly syn / eftir his bapteme may nocht be saif bot be pennaunce / tane of his awne fre will / for and he war coakkit it helpit nocht him Tharfor it is rycht proffita/ble to þe man and synnar to consider and awise all thing / that may induce him to werray pennaunce [276r] for mony thingis inducis and persuadis him / that he cum nocht to pennaunce / as the innemy þe waurldly plesauns his lust and carnale plesaunce / þe lady þat eftir his opinȝeone and hirris lyis suetlie in his armes / and als þe synnis þat he dois and committis / The first thing & maist principale / þat inducis the persoune man or woman to pennaunce is þat god lufis pennaunce amaist our all thing / and has gret hatrent agane the syn / for as sais the prophet / *iniquos odio habui & legem tuam dilexi* / god lufis the natur of the creatur þat he has creat and maid / and hatis þe syn / & *iterum* Sanct dauid sais *Cor contritum et humiliatum deus non dispi/cies* / he sais þat god refusis neuir the synnar / þat is contrit in his hert and penitent / and þat forthinkis his syn / for þe noble mercy and condicioun of god is / þat quhen the synnar forthinkis weralie / and hartlie the syn / þat he has committit / and has werray purpos to confes him þarof / and mak satisfaccioun / at it is þan forgevin / for as sais the sammyn prophet / *dixi confitebor aduersum me iniusticiam meam domino / et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei* / he sais þat quhen þe synnar is werray penitent and forthinkis his syn / it is remittit forow / þat he confes him of it / wᵗþi þat he haue purpos to confes him of it / and fulfill the pennaunce / þat he suld do for it / And

sene god has sic displesaunce and hatrent agane the syn / he þat inpu*n*gnis þe [276v] syn and distroyis it / als fer as he may plesis god richt gretlie / for he distroyis þe werray innemy of god / and the thing þat he hat*is* maist / as he þat is wassale to a king or emp*ri*our / and distroyis his maist cruell and mortale innemy / suld be in his grace and haue luf & fauor of him / And þarfor he þat chasis þe syn out of his hert / and accusis it w^t^ his mouth / and tholis it na way to rest in his werk*is* / and all for þe luf of god þat p*er*soune plesis god ry*ch*t gretlie / And þus quhe*n* þe p*er*sone forthink*is* þe syn / þat is the innemy of god and askis help and suple at god agane it / þan god is plesit and redy to resaue him in grace / and to gif him help and suple / And the ma*n* doand þis plesis 'nocht' an*er*ly god / bot to all þe angellis and haly saulis in paradice / & to all þe creatur*is* þat lufis and ser*u*ys god And the ma*n* þat was tynt throu syn and oblist to et*er*nale dampnacioun / throu wertu of pe*n*naunce is restorit agan to þe similitud and grace of god / and to þe hevinly blis þat ih*es*us has wo*n*nyn to ws be merit of his glorius passioun / and þat plesis to god / that þe werk that he maid and creat maist noble and digne our all the laif and redemyt be wertu of his haly passioun fra deid and payn et*er*nall / þat forow was tynt now be saif / and restorit agane to his hartlie luf and fauour And þarfor þe haly sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce / þat dois þis plesaunce / plesis gretlie to þe hie maieste of god [277r] to þe angellis / to all þe freynd*is* ser*u*aund*is* / and creatur*is* and it is þe werray saw and hevinly medycyn / þat is maist proffitable to þe ma*n* / Tharfor he suld gretlie luf / & hono*u*r it / and tak pe*n*naunce for his sy*n*nis The secund singular motive and occasioune to induce me*n* to pe*n*naunce / is the sicht of god and knawlage of hi*m* for he seis clerlie þe mynd / þe will / and the ente*n*/cioun of the ma*n* / Thar is nane sa hardy in a realme weil gou*er*nit be policy / quhar þe king wsis iustice and is weill obeyit / þat durst resaue nurys or susteyn in his hous / þe mortale innemy of the king / the king havand p*er*fit knawlage þarof / and seand him cheris sua his innemy / for þat war a gret *in*iur offence / and contempcioun of the king & of his dignite rial / for sic a ma*n* suld dreid gretlie þe rancor and punicioun of the king / and þar is nane þat durst think to resaue sic a ma*n* and the king had knawlage þarof / And sene

god þat is king of hevin Erd and all creatur seis clerlie þe mynd will and ente*n*cioun / of the ma*n* how he hald*is* nuri/sis / and cherisis in his hert / þe deidly syn that is þe mortale innemy of the ma*n* / and of all the angellis of paradice / and the thing þat god has maist at hatrent / and is no*ch*t ane*r*ly the innemy of god þe creator / bot als of ihe*s*u the redemptor And the ma*n* knawis weill þat god seis all þis clerlie / 'for' sene god maid the ma*n* / his Ene / his Eris / [277v] his saule / his mynd / and all vthir thing in him / þou may weill knaw that all the werk*is* and operacioun of him he knawis pe*r*fitlie / *p*salmus *qui plantauit aurem non audiet qui finxit oculum non considerat d*omin*us scit cogita/ciones hom*in*um q*uoni*am vane sunt* / þarfor and he expell no*ch*t this deidly syn and mortale innemy of god out of his mynd / he contempnis richt gretlie the hie maieste of god / and *com*mitt*is* gret offence agane him / and putt*is* his self in gret pe*r*ell of pe*r*dicioun and dampnacioun eternale / for he wait nocht / quhou sone god will punys and tak wengeauns of him / and it is gret me*r*well þat god sustenis him sa lang wn punyst / bot þat causis his infinit mercy þat / byd*is* to se and gif occasioun to þe ma*n* to turne fra his syn / and he þat dred*is* no*ch*t this pe*r*ell / it is lik þat he be out of his wit / and eft*ir* þe gret me*r*cy of god and lang exspec/tacioun[1] / þat he suffe*r* him wnpunyst to rys fra syn schawand his infinit gudnes / and beneuolens in þat to þe synnar / offerand him help and suple / geue the synnar humilis him no*ch*t befor god turnand to pe*n*naunce the synnar incurr*is* eu*ir* mar and mar / indignacioun and *com*mitt*is* euir gretar offence contempnand sa lang the gret power and beneuolens þat god schawis to him / þarfor þe synnar suld consid*er* / the gret & me*r*walus pe*r*ell þat he is in / and the gret benignite of god in sa lang expectacioun / offerand euir his help & suple and he suld rys suddanly w^{t} curage w^{t} ardent[2] [278r] desyr and appetit tocum to pe*n*naunce the hevinly me/dycyn / and to expel fra him his mortale innemy[3] / þat atour all thing displesis god / þe creator / and ihe*s*u the redemptor / þat þe ire and wengeans of god strik no*ch*t suddanly on him The thrid motif and pe*r*suasioun to induce the pe*r*soune to pe*n*naunce is the inflexibill iustice of god / þat lesis neuir gud deid wnrewardit na euill deid wnpunyst / bot reward*is* euir þe gud mar þan it is of dignite / as for our gud deid heir gevis ws glor ete*r*nal / in paradice

/ and punysis þe syn / euir les na þe gret rigour of iustice requir*is* for in all his werk*is* / is mixt his m*er*cy w^{t} iustice *þ*salmus *vniuerse vie domini misericordia et veritas* / and the doctrin of haly theologie sais / *q*uod *deus semp*er *premiat vlt*ra *condignu*m / *et punit citra* con*dignu*m / And sene all the deid*is* þe wourd*is* and cogitaciounis of me*n* ⟨mon⟩ be ⟨punyst / And gif þai be no*cht* punyst in this pur lif þai mone be punyst / þai mon be punyst⟩ werray iustice mon tak remuneracioun / þarfor all the euill deid*is* wourd*is* and cogitaciouns of me*n* mon be punyst / And gif þai be no*cht* punyst in þis pur lif / þai mon be punyst eft*ir* þe p*ar*tin ⟨of the⟩ of the saule be rigorus iustice as I haue declarit befor / þarfor god has ordand at þe sy*n*nis be punist in this waurld be pe*n*naunce and has ordand iug*is* vnd*er* him / in this waurld to iuge correct / and punys the syn / he said to þe apostlis and þai*m* þat suld folow þame / *quorum remiserit*is [278v] *peccata remittuntur eis*[1] / *et quorum retinuerit*is *retenta erunt* / and sene god has ordand þe kyrkme*n* to heir confessioun*is* and remyt the syn / and he has maid þai*m* iug*is in foro cons*cienc*ie* And has oblist the pepil to rewel and confes þar sy*n*nis to þame / and to stand at þar decret and ordinaunce / for and the sy*n*nis be nocht iugit and remyttit in þis waurld / þar wil be iugeme*n*t ⟨of⟩ '&' condampnacioun for þame in the tym of the p*ar*tin of þe saule fra þis pur habitacioun And þarfor and the p*er*soune wil no*cht* do pe*n*naunce for his syn / and tak iugeme*n*t heir / it is necessar þat eft*ir* þis present lif / þat he be punist for þame et*er*naly Tharfor þe p*er*soune w^{t} gret and ardent desyr suld do pe*n*naunce in þis pur lif / þat he be no*cht* punyst et*er*naly / eft*ir* his passin hyne / quhar þar sal be mar payn and dolour na hert or mynd can think / luk gif þou can think or finde in þi mynd the end of et*er*nite / I trow þou can no*cht* find it / and sa lang sall indur the payne of dampnit creatur*is* and als þe hevines and bitt*er*nes / of þat payn þou can no*cht* wnd*er*stand / And this is no*cht* anerlie the verite of theologie and halysc*r*iptur and þe faith of ihesu bot the philosophour*is* Oratour*is* and poet*is* graunt*is* the sa*mm*y*n* Arestotill sais / *q*uod *iubit*er *tonat in celo ut terreantur anime / que sunt in tartaro / & cato in cathelenario longe michi alia mens est* þat*r(e)s*[2] conscripti / quhar he schawis þat þe euill lyffar*is* ar punyst in hell / eft*ir* þar p*ar*tin heir and þis was þe doctrine of plato / and *tulius* [279r] the

gret oratur of rome declar*is* / *in questionibus tusca/lanis* / *& in sompno sipionis* Sa dois iuuenale / *in vna satera* / and virgill at lenth *in sexto Eneidos* / he sais and he had a hund*er* mouthis / and als mony toung*is* to spek w[t] / he couth no*cht* tell þe diu*ers* panis þat ar in hell *Non michi se lingue centum sint ora*que *centum ferrea vox omnes (s)celer*um[1] *distribere formas Omnia penar*um *percurrere nomina poss(i)m*[2] Thar 'for' eu*ir*ilk ma*n* and woma*n* suld no*cht* tary bot ryn besely to pe*n*naunce in þis pur lif The ferd motive induceand me*n* to pe*n*naunce is the gret certitud and infallabilite ⟨to⟩ of ded / and þe incertitud and indeter*min*acioun anen*s* ws / of the day and hour þarof / ilk ma*n* and woma*n* is cer*t*ane þat þai mone de / *quis est homo qui non videbit mort*em / bot neuir ane wait quhe*n* / nouthir pape / empr*i*our / king / prince / or lord / na ȝit na vthir on lif has in his power to prolong his lif a day / or hour / for þe haly scr*i*ptur sais *in libro iob breues dies hom*in*is sunt numerus mensi*um *eius apud te est et iterum Posuisti ter*m*inos eius qui pretir(i)*[3] *non poterunt* and virgill þe poet *in eneydos* sais *Stat sua (cui)*que[4] *dies breue et*[5] *irreparabile tempus* omn*ibus est vite sed fama*m *extendere fact*is / *hoc virtut*is *opus* / And þus sene þe lif of the ma*n* / and naturale deid is no*cht* in his awne power / bot in the hand of god rycht gret m*er*well is þat ma*n* dar remane ane hour in sic p*er*ell / of dampnacioun et*er*nalle [279v] sene his lif and deid is no*cht* in his awne power / And sene the ma*n* may sa weill and lichtlie enschew / and euad / þir euillis þat neuir sal end / be the sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce þ*at* is licht to him / for it stand*is* on his awne tho*cht* and wourd for to forthink þe syn / and confes it And sene na thing is sa facill and licht to þe ma*n* / as tho*cht* and wourde he þat will no*cht* forthink his syn / and confes it is ry*cht* wnhappy / and wourthi tobe punyst þarfor / sene he wil stand in sic a p*er*ell and danger / þat nane mar may be tho*cht* / and may sa sone and lichtlie put remeid and will no*cht* / The vi[6] motive to induce the p*er*soune to pe*n*naunce / is the haly passioun of ih*es*u his ded & p*re*cius blud / offerit to þe fader of hevin for þe syn of man This haly passioun and deid of ih*es*u and his precius blud cryis m*er*cifully to all synnar*is* / þat þai cum to pe*n*/naunce / and resaue the wertu and influe*n*s of it / ⟨bot⟩ 'for'[7] ih*es*us deit no*cht* bot for synnar*is* / and to deliuer þame fra þar sy*n*nis / Tharfor he þat contempnis þe passioun[8] of ih*es*u / and

his precius blud ordand to clenge the synnar and wesch away his syn / he þat contempnis it / in this lif namlie þe *cr*istin ma*n* / that has maid faith and professioun to him be werray necessite he sal/be condampnit / quhe*n* he passis hyn Sanct petir sais *Non corruptibili auro et argento redempti est*is / sed *precioso sanguine agni incontaminati* / And þarfor he þat will enschew et*er*nale dampnacioun / and cum to glor and [280r] beatitud eu*ir*lestand suld blithlie ryn to þe sac*ra*ment of pe*n*naunce / þat is þe sp*iri*tuale medycyn & souueran remeid / and expell fra his saule and mynd þe capitale innemy of god his creator and ih*es*u his blissit re/demptor / þat is deidly syn / þat is þe nurysar of his saule / 'in ile' and ledar of it to dampnacioun et*er*nale And sene þou wauld no*ch*t resaue nor susteyn þi cruell and mortale innemy in þi ȝard / in þi hous / in þi chawmer / na in nane of þi possessioun*is* / quhy wil þou resaue þi mortale innemy and als þe innemy of god þi creatur & ih*es*u þi redemptou*r* / and of all the court of paradice / þat is deidly syn in the sacret chaume*r*[1] of þi saule / in þi hert / and luf and cheris it and spe*ci*ali sene þat traytou*r* garr*is* þe tyn all the ioy and glor of paradice þat contenis 'infinit'[2] ⟨imp*er*fit⟩ p*er*feccioun and oblisis þe to et*er*nale tourme*n*t and payn p*er*petual / O ma*n* repleit and fillit of all foly and wikitnes / quhow may þou cheris þe wikkit thef dedly syn / in þi hert mynd and curage / that is sa cruell and agan þe / and lauboris[3] to bring þe to et*er*nall dampna/cioun / sene þou knawis weill þat for þe distruc/cioun of it / and for þi saluacioun help and suple be werray necessite and cherite / god of maieste tuk humanite / and deit on þe croce / þou will nocht haue ane euill govn / ane euill hois ane euill scho þou will no*ch*t haue ane euill wif / na ane euill [280v] possessioun eft*ir* þi will þi plesaunce and desyr And þou will haue ane euill saule cons*er*uand syn mortale in it / þat þou suld luf our all creatur vnd*er* god / ih*es*us sais the euuangell / *qua*m co*m*mutacione*m* *dabit homo pro anima sua* / *quid prodest homini si totum mundum lucretur* a*n*ime *vero sue detrementum paciatur* O bestlie ma*n* awis and consider in þi mynd / quhou god has gevin the / þe noble saule maid eft*ir* his ymag*e* and similitud / he has ordand it to ioy and blis et*er*nall / ih*es*us has deit for the saluaccioun of it þou suld luf it our all thing vnder god / quharfor þan wil þou tyn it 'and wyrke thyr ewyle werk*is* of all i*n*equite /

& bleke it/[1] w[t] all filth and syn / and oblis it to et*er*nall dampnacioun / þe thing þat þou suld luf and price / our all thing vnd*er* god/ / þou putt*is* polecy reule and iustice in þi hous amang þi s*er*uaund*is* / to gouerne þi wif þi barnis and all þi possessioun*is* / and þi saule þat þou suld gouerne maist warly and tend*ir*ly / þou putt*is* in þe reule hand and gou*er*naunce of þi maist cruell and mortale innemy of hell / *com*mittand syn and p*er*seuerand þar in / Offendand god þi creator / O mortale ma*n* awis þe / consider þi self / and walk fra deidly sleip / turn to þi creator to ih*es*u þi m*er*cifull redemptou*r* / and cu*m* hastely to þe souuerane medycyn / and sp*irit*ual heill and lif of þi saule / þat ih*es*us has ordand for þe be the wertu of his passioun glorius / that is þe haly sacrame*n*t of pe*n*naunce / *p*salmus *Surgite post qua*m [281r] *sederit*is *qui ma*n*ducat*is *pane*m *dolor*is *Cum dederit dilect*is *suis sompnu*m *ecce he*r*editas domini filii m*er*ces fructus ven*tris þe gret heretage of paradice is cu*m*myn to the / be þe haly frute of þe wame virginal / of þe haly lady / and blist mod*er* of ih*es*u / þat tholit passioun for ws all / be the wertu of his passioun glorius / þou may wesch þe clene fra all þi syn in þis sac*ra*me*n*t of pe*n*naunce / And I pray þe consyder þi self þi awne wisdome and prudence / þat the thing*is* þat ar vnd*er* the / and þai s*er*ue þe no*ch*t weill / to þi hono*ur* and proffit as s*er*uaund*is* / þou will punys þame / and gif þou be a prince þi traytour*is* and rebellour*is* / þou will sla / And þi queyn emprice or lady souuerane þat þou lufis best / war to þe brokin / and couth no*ch*t be na luf nor cherising nor gift*is* of the / turne ⟨þe⟩ to hir faith / haly mariage and tend*ir* luf of þe / þan be ressoune / þou mycht desyr to p*ar*t fra hir / *quo ad chorum p*er*petuo* / quhil þe lady wauld humyll[2] hir and knaw hir faute / and schaw þe hir humilite[3] / promittand hir luf and s*er*uice incorruptible / And as to þe treis þat beris na frute sperr*is* or vthir thing wnproffitable þou wauld byrn þame / for þi s*er*uice & proffit And sene þis is þi reule and polecy / and gou*er*naunce abone the thing*is* þat god has put vnd*er* þe and in þi gou*er*naunce / I requeir þe consider þi self sene god is om*n*ipotent of infinit wisdome / no*ch*t ⟨ordand⟩ 'oblist' to keip [281v] the ordinaunce of his creatur*is* / bot all vnd*er* him oblist to his hono*ur* reuere*n*s and s*er*uice / þat quhe*n* he dois sic thing and wsis his creatur*is* þat he has maid for his hono*ur* and punysis þame eft*ir* his wisdom þat

he dois na wrang to punys þame / quhen þai brek his law / and failȝeis to him And gif the man þat god has maid for his honour and seruice 'be repugnand & displesand to hyme & nocht for his honor na seruice/'[1] conuenient it is na merwell þat god refus him and punys him and gif agane him / þe sentens of deid perpetuall and eternal dampnacioun / and as men chesis for þar nurising and plesaunce / all thing þat is fair plesaund / and conuenient for þame / Richtsua god refusis the euill foule and disconuenient things and all creaturis of þat condicioun / and sendis þame to dampnacioun eternal / And þame þat ar wertuis and clene w^t^out syn cled / and ornat w^t^ grace w^t^ merit of his passioun and pennaunce / he resauis to his mercy / and gevis þame soule remissioun / and promissioun of the hevinly blis and heretage eternal / And þarfor euirilk man suld laubour w^t^ all cur and diligens & weman Rychtsua to put away syn be werray pennaunce / or þe sentens diffinitive / and finale of god be gevin agane þame for be þat way and laubour þai enchew dampna/cioun / and cummys to beatitud eternall / Mony vthir things pertenand to þis sacrament of pennaunce I haue writtin apone the buks of the sentens in paris baith in [282r] the first buk / and in the last / I traist richt faccellie eftir þe gretest clerks / that I haue red / as Sanct tho/mas scot Okam holcot helefac bokingame / caton / belengem adam *de hoeta de aliato* and io iersone and in ane vthir werk maid in latyn / *ad requestam i(a)cobi*[2] *tercii scotorum regis illustris* / and als in the buk þat I maid in the castell of Edinburgh / quhen I was gretlie cherist w^t^ that noble prince / and preichit to him and his pepil / bot þis buk þat I writ now I reput als mekle and mar na þe laif / for þe prof/fit of the pepil / for I procede sa fer in it be ressoune naturale / þat þai þat will reid it / and trowis nocht na knawis nocht þe haly faith of ihesu and his doc/trine / or þai wit of / þai sal be his grace knaw it and be sekyr in it And þarfor þou lector and redar quhat euir þou be man or woman / I pray þe for ihesus saik / gif all the honour and loving to him and nane to me / *quia regi seculorum immortali et inuisibili soli deo honor*[3] *et gloria* / 'for' war nocht his grace help and suple / ⟨þe⟩ 'na' man war mar abill to fall in gret syn na I and þarfor humely I requer the / of þi prayer and orisoune for me *etc.*

[282v] This folowand cheptur schawis and declar*is* the hie and noble wertu of the sacrame*n*t of extreme vnccioun / þat helpis me*n* quhe*n* þai pas fra þis carnale habitacioun *etc.*

SEne[1] it is necessar to all men to de and pas fra þis carnal habitacioun and duelling / in þis gret miser[2] þat we ar in till / And to pas to þe noble place and realme / that þe saule of ma*n* was creat and maid for / And becaus þat þe saule of ma*n* in þis pur lif / and als passand fra þis waurld oftymes is inclinit p*er*suadit and drawin to folow the inclinacioun of the flesch / and body / þat it is copulit and maryit w^{t} / sua þat na thing may p*ar*t þame bot anerly þe deid / And sua be inclinacioun of þe brukle flesch and body þe saule has mony sy*n*nis venial and is gretlie lattit / þat it may no*ch*t rys and lift the self in þe hie and noble *con*templacioun of god / and in his ardent luf / þat it suld desyr our all maner of thing / And þus sene the saule mone pas / fra þis estait to ane vthir / it mone pas outhir to paradice abone or ellis to purgator / and þarfor it mist*er*is a strenth fortitud and starknes / to iune it in ardent luf to god / to pas to god w^{t} ⟨hie⟩ gret and hie deuocioun [283r] And gif it passis be the devin sente*n*s to purgator it mist*er*is strenth / fortitude / help / and suple / to susteyn pacientlie pane of purgatory quhil it be clengit and deliuerit fra þe venial syn and all euill affeccioun and inclinacioun And þar is twa thing*is* þat may put impedime*n*t to þe saule þat it pas no*ch*t inmediatlie and inco*n*tinent to þe ioy and glor et*er*nall / Ane is waiknes / þat is left eft*ir* syn / in the saule for þo*ch*t it be p*ur*git fra syn ȝit þar remanis waiknes in it / þat is causit and left eftir þe syn precedent / as we se quhe*n* þe ma*n* is helit / fra þe bodely seknes / ȝit þar remanis debilite and waiknes in his body/ / The secund thing that putt*is* impedime*n*t / þat þe saule ascend no*ch*t *incon*tine*n*t / in the ardent luf of god / is veniall syn / for all maner of syn baith deidly and veniall / putt*is* sum impedime*n*t

and makis elongacioun / of the saule and p*er*soune fra god / bot mortale syn seueris / þe saule haly fra þe grace of god / þat is the lif of the saule / and þarfor it is callit mortale and deidly syn / bot the venial syn p*artis* no*cht* the saule fra god na distroyis no*cht* grace þat is the lif of the saule bot waik*is* diminuys and mak*is* þe luf and affeccioun / of the saule les ane*ns* god þe creatur and ih*es*u the redempto*ur* And þarfor þe saule quhe*n* it p*artis* fra þe body / miste*r*is þat it be purgit and clengit fra all weniall syn þat it may i*n*co*n*tine*n*t ascend in the ardent luf of the di*ui*nite And sene ih*es*us has ordand þe sac*ra*me*n*t*is* [283v] sensible and visible for þe curacioun and medycyn of the saule / he has ordand þis last sacrament / þat is callit extreme vnccioun to heill þe saule fra all sp*irit*ual langour & debilite / and als for / remissioun of all veniall syn in sa mekle þat it is culpe and syn / for quhen the saule is deliuerit fra all euill and sequelis & inclinacioun that cu*mm*ys þarof / and fra sp*irit*ual debi/lite / it may sonar and w^{t} mar facilite / cum to the iocundite and blithnes eternall that it is ordand for / be gret deuocioun / þat it has and conuersion of it to þe luf and s*er*uice of god And richt as in þe vthir sac*ra*me*n*t*is* the thing sensible and visible signifyis and betaky*nn*is the thing inuisible / þat is in the saule / Ry*cht*/sua in this sacrament þe vnccioun visible / ⟨signifyis and betaky*nn*is the thing inuisible / þat⟩ is of the haly vle / þat is done in the body in c*er*tane p*artis* of þe body in the Eyn in the Eris in the nes in the hand*is* lippis in the feit and in buttok*is* w^{t} c*er*tane wourd*is* signifyis and betaky*nn*is that the saule is helit be sp*irit*ual grace fra þe sp*irit*ual debilite fra þe euil affec/cioun and inclinacioun / þat remanit eft*ir* þe deidly syn was remittit and als fra venial sy*nn*is And þus be wertu of þis haly vnccioun the saul þat part*is* / passis w^{t} gret deuocioun and mar facilite to þe hevin / and presens of the devin maieste as the vly heilis þe bodely wound*is* / Richtsua þe saule is helit be the grace þat is gevin in this sac*ra*ment [284r] and for caus that the saule of ma*n* incurr*is* sp*irit*ual infir/miteis and veniall sy*nn*is / be thir p*artis* of þe body that I haue spokin of befor / Therfor in þai vii p*artis* / þe p*er*sone is anoyntit / for to schaw that be wertu of þis sac*ra*me*n*t þe saule is disponit to p*er*fit hel sp*irit*uale / to ardent luf and dileccioun of god / and weschin of all venial syn And in this sacrame*n*t the vly is no*cht* mixt ⟨in⟩

'witht' the balme as in the confirmacioun / for as þe vly is cleir ry*cht*sua it signifiis and betaky*nn*is / that the consciens of the p*er*soune is bricht and cleir fra all venial syn in the confirmacioun þe vly is mixt w^{t} the balme for þe confirmacioun / is gevin for to feicht ma*ni*festlie agane the innemy of the faith and to conuers w^{t} the pepil paciently And to thir thing*is* is requirit the odor and sauour of gud fame / þat is signifiit be the balme Bot quhe*n* þe saule p*art*is fra þe body / and suld pas to þe hevin / and presens of the devin maieste it is requirit / and suffice þat the saule be cleir w^{t}out syn mortale and venial / and be purgit fra þe sequelis of þame / and þat signifyis the clernes of þe vly / that is no*cht* sua mixt And þis sac*ram*e*n*t is no*cht* gevin to barnis bot to þame þat has wse of ressoune / for it is gevin to put away þe veniall synnis and to lift and eik þe deuocioun to god / þar for barnis þat *com*mitt*is* na venial syn na knawis no*cht* quhat is deuocioun suld no*cht* resaue it / bot þai þat has wit and wse of ressoun And it is gevin to þame þat ask*is* it w^{t} deuocioun [284v] Alsua it suld no*cht* be gevin bot to seik folk in p*er*ell of deid / for it is gevin be the maner of curacioun cor/porale / þat signifyis þe sp*irit*uale curacioun of þe saule And þar for gif þar war na infirmite corporale þar war no*cht* cor*respo*ndens / *signi ad signatum* And po*cht* þar be no*cht* ay corporale curacioun / quhe*n* þis sac*ram*e*n*t is gevin Neuirtheles þar is ay curacioun sp*irit*uale and þat signifyis þis sacrame*n*t / bot quhilis þar is causit be this sacrame*n*t corporale and bodely cura/cioun fra seiknes / for þis sac*ram*e*n*t is gevin to Erect þe saule to god be ardent deuocioun / and þan the saule growis in strenth and blithnes / and becaus the saule gou*er*nis the body and gevis lif to it / Therfor oftymes be the strenth fortificacioun and blithnes of the saule þe corporale and bodely molesta/cioun and seknes Cessis And þis is done quhe*n* it is gretlie expedie*n*t and proffitable to þe p*er*soune that is in seknes to lif langar / for þe augme*n*tacioun and accumilacioun of merit*is* This sacrame*n*t is ordand to heill the saule fra sp*irit*uale infirmite and seknes / and sene the deidly syn is no*cht* infirmite na seknes / bot werray deid / and the venial syn is infirmite / for it remanis w^{t} grace and distroyis it no*cht* Tharfor þe sac*ram*e*n*t of pe*n*naunce is ordand agan the dedly syn / and þis sac*ram*e*n*t agane þe venial syn / it fortifyis the saule to resist to þe occult / and inuisible

innemeis of hell / and to pas w^{t} mar velocite to þe glor et*er*nall This sac*ra*me*n*t is gevin be wourd*is* |285r| of prayer / for quhe*n* this sacrame*n*t is gevin / to þe p*er*sone he has amaist na power of him self / þarfor it is expedient / þat þe wourd*is* of þis sacrame*n*t be p*ra*yer for him Alsua this sac*ra*me*n*t is ordand to put away þe venial sy*n*nis / and þat is maist done be p*ra*yer that rasis and lift*is* the mynd to god Tharfor it is *con*uenie*n*t that þe wourd*is* of þis sac*ra*me*n*t be said in the maner of prayer / Alsua þis sac*ra*me*n*t is gevi*n* to þame þat passis fra þis waurld to god / and þa*n* þai mist*er* maist to be *com*me*n*dit to god be prayer and þis is the thrid caus / quharfor þis haly sac*ra*ment *datur cum verbis deprecatis* The mat*er* of þis sac*ra*me*n*t is þe vly of þe oliue consecrat be þe bischop The forme and wourd*is* of þis sac*ra*ment ar *Per istam vnccionem et sua*m *piisima*m *m*isericord*iam indulgeat tibi d*omin*us quicquid deliquisti per visum et similiter in aliis p*ar*t*ibus* / The mi*ni*ster of þis sac*ra*ment is the prest This sac*ra*me*n*t helis þe saule fra sp*irit*uale seknes / and oft tymes the body fra corporale seknes / quhe*n* it is richt expedie*n*t for þe p*er*soune as I haue said and de/clarit befor

This folowand cheptur de/clar*is* quhow the sp*irit*ual power of mi*ni*stracioun of the haly sac*ra*men*tis* is *com*mittit [285v] be ih*es*u to c*er*tane p*er*soun*is* þat ar kyrkmen / for þe honour of him and proffit and saluacioun of all the pepil *etc.*

I[1] haue Spokin befor of þe V. sacra/men*tis* þat ar ordand be ih*es*u to gif sp*irit*ual lif to þe synnar*is* / and deliuer þaim fra þar syn / I haue declarit and schawin how þe haly bapteme deliuer*is* the saule fra þe original syn / and causis sp*irit*ual lif of w*er*tu and grace in it / hou þe confirmacioun[2] gevis strenth and fortitud to defend þe name of ih*es*u / quhow þe haly eucharist and body of ih*es*u gevis and causis sp*irit*ual nurising / how þe haly sac*ra*men*t* of pennaunce rasis þe p*er*soune and saule fra deid and mortale syn And how þe extreme and last vncciouu clengis the saule fra venial syn fra waiknes & debilite and causis þe saule to ent*er* w^t^ gret deuocioun hardines and strenth and w^t^ gret facilite / Eftir it passis hyn in to þe haly place and realme of paradice And sene thir sac*ra*men*tis* ar *con*uenien*t* proffita/ble and necessar / for the saluacioun of man / it is necessar / þat sum p*er*soun*is* in this waurld haue power to mi*ni*ster þame to þe c*ri*stin peple / for nane has power to wse to mynister / na distribue þe gudis [286r] digniteis and benefic*is* of a lord / w'out his power and ordinaunce And sene thir hevinly sacramen*tis* ar the tresour and instrumen*tis* of grace / and sp*irit*ual medycyn ordanit and institut be ih*es*u for the remissioun[3] of syn / and saluacioun of mankind / þarfor nane had power to institut or ordand þame bot ih*es*us be w*er*ray sone naturale of god / þat is our m*er*cifull redempt*our* Tharfor ih*es*us of his grace and m*er*cy has ordand c*er*tane p*er*soun*is* and gevin þame power and auto*ri*te to distri/bue thir haly sacramen*tis* to his pepil for þar salua/cioun And sene twa thing*is* ar necessar for þe salua/cioun of man The first is grace / þat putt*is* away the syn and disponis the p*er*soune to ent*er* in

the realme of paradice et*er*nale and þis grace is gevin ⟨q⟩ and q*ui*kit be the sacrame*n*t*is* þat ih*es*us has ordand and institut Tharfor þe secund thing þat is necessar / is power aut*or*ite and office to treit and mi*n*ister þir sacrament*is* in thir twa thing*is* stand*is* all the complemen*t* and craft of our saluacioun / and as in the naturale gene/racioun of ma*n* concurr*is* to gidd*ir* / god / & ma*n* / þe ma*n* causis the body be natural generacioun / and god creat*is* the saule Richtsua in the reparacioun of the ma*n* callit regeneracioun and sp*iri*tual generacioun þat reparis and reduc*is* þe ma*n* to þe State of grace / þat is done be the wertu of þe glorius passioun of ih*es*u And þe sac*ra*ment*is* þar suld concur twa thing*is* that ar god and ma*n* / þe ma*n* mi*n*ist*er*is þe sensible and [286v] visible sacrame*n*t*is* and god produc*is* and creat*is* þe grace in the saule / for the sacrame*n*t is applyit to þe body and the grace is producit and creat in the saule sua þat as the ma*n* generis and produc*is* þe ma*n* be þe bodely operacioun and naturale office ordanit be god / that is rectour and gou*er*no*ur* of natur Richtsua the deliu*er*ans of the ma*n* fra syn / and sp*iri*tuale generacioun in grace and wertu is causit be the ma*n* be corporale mi*n*istracioun / and applicacioun of thir sacrame*n*t*is* god has gevin to ma*n* / bot as the power creatiue and productiue of 'þe saule was no*ch*t gevi*n* to ma*n* / bot god res*er*uit it to him self / ri*ch*tsua þe power c*r*eatiue & p*r*oductiue of//'[1] grace in the saule is no*ch*t gevin na grauntit to ma*n* bot god res*er*uit it to him self And þus þe mi*n*istracioun[2] of thir haly sac*ra*ment*is* is grauntit to ma*n* / for be þat is causit mar luf fauor and securite betuix me*n* / þarfor ih*es*us has ordand be his grace and infinit wisdome that me*n* leffand in Erd has power to mi*n*ist*er* þe sac*ra*ment*is* þat caus grace and saluacioun amang me*n* and sp*iri*tual vnite for ih*es*us is þar heid and þai ar / *corpus eius misticum* as sais Sanct paule / *quasi membrum de membro* / And þo*ch*t thir sacrame*n*t*is* be necessar to all c*r*istin pepill / ȝit the hono*ur* dignite power / and office of mi*n*istracioun of þame is no*ch*t grauntit na gevin to all / bot to c*er*tane p*er*soun*is* / and it lift*is* þame in a gre of dignite and autorite abone þame / þat has no*ch*t sic power / for as þe fader þat naturali generis þe barne suld be mar honorit na the barne þat he gener*is* and produc*is* Richtsua the kyrkme*n* þat has power and aut*or*ite to mi*n*ister þir sacrament*is* þat caus [287r]

sp*irit*ual generacioun suld gretlie be honorit abone the *com*mone pepil And sene þai ar in mar dignite / and[1] the lawde pepil in his dignite / and vnd*er* þame þar is superiorite and inferiorite '& quhar þar is in/feriorite & sup*er*iorite'[2] þar is ordour Tharfor thir kyrkme*n* has þis ordour of dignite and superiorite abone the laif / for as þou seis þat the saule of a p*er*soune is mar digne and worthi na is the body Richtsua thir kyrkme*n* þat causis sp*irit*uale lif & genera/cioun of grace and wertu in the saule ar mar to be honorit / na þai þat causis the carnal generacioun of the body And as þou seis þat þe cr*is*tin me*n* and wome*n* ar in gretar dignite / na þai þat ar nocht cr*is*tinit Richtsua the 'cr*is*tin' ⟨kyrk⟩ / me*n* þat has this power & dignite of ordour*is* / ar in dignite abone the laif / And as þou seis þat all the me*m*bris of þi body natural has *con*ueni*e*n*s* in naturale lif and heit / bot ȝit ane is mar digne and wourthi / na is ane vthir / as þe heid þe hart the E or þe hand / Richtsua þoc*h*t all the cr*is*tin me*n* haue *con*ueni*e*n*s* / þat þai ar all in faith and grace and resauis þir sacrame*n*t*is* / and part of þame has mar dignite na vthir / as þai þat mi*n*ist*er*is and causis þe sp*irit*ual lif be applicacioun of thir sac*r*ame*n*t*is* in the laif / and þus all the haill congregacioun of the cr*is*tin pepil is diuidit in twa p*art*is / ane þat is les of dignite / þat is callit / *pars laicalis* and þe top*ir* of mar dignite is callit *pars clericalis* [287v] and thir kyrkme*n* ar of mar dignite and nerrar to god / for god gevis grace *inuisibilit*er be þar mi*n*istracioun / and þai ar his mi*n*ister*is* of the visible sacrame*n*t*is* þat gevis grace and þus þai ar *Coadiutores et cooperatores dei in nostra salute* And þis is gret honour and dignite / And this sp*irit*ual power is gevin to þe preist be a takin sensible and ma*n*ifest / Rycht as in the laif of þe sacrame*n*t*is* / þe thing inuisible in the saule is signifiet be a thing sensible & visible for þai ar wourd*is* and taky*n*nis that signifyis and represent*is* this sp*irit*uale and inuisible power in the saule to dispens and mynister þir sacrame*n*t*is* And þarfor it is necessar that þar be a sacrame*n*t of ordour / And in þat is gevin power and auto*r*ite to mi*n*ist*er* thir sac*r*ame*n*t*is* for as þou seis þat of ane wnc*r*istin ma*n* is maid a cr*is*tin ma*n* / and þat is done be a takin and signe sensible in þe bapteme Rychtsua to a ma*n* þat had na power to wse apply or minister thir sacrame*n*t*is* is gevin power and auto*r*ite to do þat / be ma*n*ifest thing*is* and sensible taky*n*nis done and said in þe

mi*n*istracioun of þe ordour*is* and collacioun of þame / Tharfor þe ordour is ane noble and hie sacrame*n*t / And sene this power is na thing corporale or visible / bot sp*irit*uale and inuisible Tharfor be we*rr*ay necessite / it mone be in the saule þat is sp*irit*ual / þarfor in the sacrame*n*t of ordour / þar is a thing sp*irit*uall and pe*r*manen*t* procurit and causit in the saule / and þat is no*ch*t an*er*ly grace / ⟨bot als þis sp*irit*uale figur⟩ / for þat is *com*mone in all the sac*ra*ment*is* / and remanis no*ch*t eft*ir* the [288r] pe*r*soune *com*mytt deidly syn / þarfor it is a seill sp*irit*ual causit in the saule þat is callit carectar / And þir pe*r*soun*is* quhe*n* þai resaue ordour*is* / þai resaue no*ch*t an*er*ly grace / bot als þis sp*irit*uale figur / and takin þat is callit carectar / and that lift*is* þame in dignite abone the laif of the pepil / and causis þame to haue mar si*m*ili/tude w^{t} ihesu na has þe laif And þis sp*irit*uale power and autorite callit carectar may no*ch*t be put away fra þe saule be deidly syn or vthir way / bot þe c*r*istin ma*n* þat anis resauis it / hald*is* it euir als lang as the saule sal be outhir in hevin / or hell / þo*ch*t the kyrkme*n* quhilis be suspendit / fra þe wse and exercicioun of þe power and autorite of it / And þis carectar & power is gevin to þe pe*r*soune and kyrkma*n* / no*ch*t anerly for his self / bot for þe proffit help suple and saluacioun of all the pepil / þarfor þo*ch*t the pe*r*soun*is* that has this power / tyne þar wertu and fall fra grace in syn ȝit this power remanis euir w^{t} þame / for it is ne/cessar for þe saluacioun of all þe haill peple / þat sum pe*r*soun*is* haue power to mi*n*ister þe sacrame*n*t*is* / Therfor þe gudnes or euill of the pe*r*soune putt*is* no*ch*t away þe autorite and power ministratiue of the sac*ra*ment*is* / for oftymes þe gud lif and grace falȝeis in the pe*r*soune and in the mi*n*iste*r* of the sac*ra*ment*is* / And gif þe power and auto*r*ite of mi*n*istracioun of the sac*ra*ment*is* falȝeit / for / þe malice and syn of þe mi*n*iste*r* / þat war gret he*n*dring [288v] and skaith to all þe haill pepil / þat the sac*ra*ment*is* ar or/dand and institut for/ / And sene na ma*n* is ce*r*tane of the gudnes of[1] all the euill of ane vthir pe*r*soune / for he wait no*ch*t quhe*þir* he forthink*is* his syn or nocht / 'quhe*þir* he be i*n* grace or no*ch*t/'[2] it war eu*ir* dout quhethir he þat resauis this sac*ra*me*n*t / resauis þe we*rr*ay sacrame*n*t or nocht / gif it be requirit þat þe mi*n*iste*r* of it be in grace / quhe*n* he mi*n*isteris it / and þan na ma*n* wist quhethir he or ony vthir ma*n* war baptist or c*r*istynnit

or had euir resauit ony sacrament / and sene this power and autorite of ministracioun is nocht / bot power to minister the things *corporalis sensibilis* and *visibilis* / þat we se in the sacramentis / as watter vly wourdis and sic thing / for the inuisible and spiritual grace ihesus causis and producis in the saule / and þarfor sene the minister causis nocht the inuisible grace in the saule bot ihesus The gudnes or syn of him puttis na causis na impediment in the verite and wertu of þe sacramentis / w[t] thi þat the minister do it that ihesus ordanit in his ministracioun And quhethir the man þat generis the barne / be gud or euill / god producis the saule in the body and lattis nocht / þe creacioun of the saule / þocht the man þat generis and ministeris / the bodely mater be euill Richtsua the gudnes or malice personale of the mynister of the sacramentis causis na lak na impe/diment[1] anens the sacramentis / bot quhen þe persoune resauis þame deuotlie in the faith of ihesu þan he producis and creatis the grace in the saule / for þe sacramentis ar ordand and institut be the power and wisdome of ihesu / and nocht of þe minister Tharfor þocht the minister be euill / he denyis nocht [289r] his grace to þe persoune that deuotlie resauis þame And þocht the preist and minister of þe sacramentis be his syn tyn the grace and spiritual lif of the saule ȝit he tynis nocht the carectar of prestheid and spiritual power to minister the sacramentis And þocht a persoune be in syn / ȝit he may resaue the spiritual power and carectar / and als may minister the sacramentis / bot þan he resauis nocht þe spirituale lif / na grace in his saule / bot fylis him self mar in syn þat wnworthi resauis or ministeris þir haly sacramentis / for þis spiritual grace and carectar and spirituale power ar nocht a thing bot twa things diuers and different And þarfor ane of þame may be producit and conseruit þocht the topir falȝe Thou seis weill þat þe gudnes or euill lif / of the man þat sawis þe corne is nocht þe caus na lattis nocht þe corne to grow / w[t]thi þat þe corne þe Erd and tym be conuenient Alsua þe personal gudnes and wertu of the medycinar or his syn or of þe potingar / nouthir causis na lattis þe heill of the seik persoune / withy þat þe medycyn be gud and gevin with discrecioun / for the medycyn has þe wertu in the self / and nocht of þe halines of the medicinar Richtsua it is of him þat ministeris the sacramentis / for þe power autorite

and carectar of mi*n*istracioun is gevi*n* to þame fra ih*es*u / that is werray god / and þo*ch*t þar lif be euill his power and werk*is* ar gud / he sais *Su*per *cathedram moisy sederunt scribe & pharisei / que dicunt facite / que aute*m *faciunt nolite facere* / ih*es*us sais quhe*n* the kyrkme*n* bischoppis or doctour*is* preichis his doctrine and lyffis vþir way and incontrar þarto / þou suld [289v] folow the doctrine and no*ch*t the werk*is* of þame for þe doctrine is his and gevin fra god / bot þar sy*n*nis and euill werk*is* ar þar awn / and i*n* þar euill lif þou suld no*ch*t folow þame / Richtsua ih*es*us has gevin power and autorite to þe kyrkme*n* he said to Sanct petir *Tu es petrus et su*per *hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam mea*m / *& quodcu*mque *ligaueris su*per *terram erit ligatum et in celis & quodcu*mque *solueritis su*per *terram erit solutum et in celis* / he sais þis ⟨is⟩ in þe euua*n*gel of sanct mathew / and þis power he gaf no*ch*t ane*r*ly to Sanct petir / bot to þe halykyrk / quhil þe day of iugeme*n*t / for as the euuangell sais *Sacerdociu*m Christi *est eternu*m And his haly body sall euir remane w^{t} his cr*i*stin pepil / quhil þe day of iugeme*n*t / for he promittit and said *Ego vobiscu*m *sum vsque ad consumacione*m *seculi* And his haly body may no*ch*t be consecrat in the haly eucharist w^{t}out the ordour of presthed Tharfor þe ordour of prestheid / that he ordanit and institut sal euir remane / quhil þe day of iuge/me*n*t / for and þat war no*ch*t / þat prestheid ordour*is* faith and þe haly sacrame*ntis* remanit euir w^{t} ws in the halykyrk his spous / he had no*ch*t wisly biggit it / na his realme had no*ch*t lestit lang / bot ane*r*ly for the tyme of the apostlis / and þat is herresie agane the halysc*r*iptur and faith for ysaie sais / *Paruulus natus e*st *nobis etc. & seq*uitu*r Et vocabitur nome*n *eius conciliarius deus fortis princeps pacis* [290r] *pater futuri seculi et regni eius non erit finis* he sais þat the realme of ih*es*u sal neuir tak end / bot indur to þe iugeme*n*t / and syn be translatit in paradice supernale And as w*r*itt*is* sanct luk in the euuangell / þe angell and hevinly messinger said / to þe haly lady & virgin *dabit ei do*minu*s deus sedem dauid pa*tr*is eius & regnabit in domo iacob inet*e*rnu*m / *et regni eius non erit finis* Thar/for ih*es*us has biggit his kyrk sa stark in faith in power and sac*r*ame*ntis* / þat in this stat it sall indur vn to the extreme iugeme*n*t / and eft*ir* rys to mekle nobillar stat / as sais Sanct iohne in the end of the apocalips / for ih*es*us said / þat vpon the faith þat sanct petir and

the apostlis confessit he suld big his kyrk / and it suld euir endur for na power of hell na Erd / suld preuale agane it he said / *Et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam Et porte inferi non preualebunt aduersus eam* And he gaf to it þe keyis of paradice / þat is to þe prest*is* he gave power and autorite to stek and opin hevin to þe pepil be absolucioun and punicioun of syn and power to bind the pepil be sente*n*s of excom*muni*cacioun he said / *Tibi da|bo claues regni celorum* And to þe apostlis / and to þe halykyrk he promittit *quecu*mque *ligaueriti*s *super terram erit ligatum & in celis Et quodcu*mque *solueriti*s *super terram erit solutum et in celis* And þarfor þoc*h*t þe kyrkme*n* 'oftym*is*'[1] syn wnworthely tretand and mi*ni*strand thir haly sac*rament*is Neuirtheles and þai wse the power and autor*ite* / þat god has gevin þame / god kepis his [290v] promit to þe pepil / quhe*n* þai resaue deuotlie thir haly sac*rament*is / fra thir euill me*n* / and þoc*h*t þai be euill & sy*nnar*is ȝit þai tyn noc*h*t þar ordour*is* power and autorite / bot suld be gretlie honorit / noc*h*t for þar syn na euil lif bot for caus þai ar mi*nistar*is of god / and happi*n* þou has als mekle 'or' ⟨and⟩ mar merit to honour þame þat ar euill for godd*is* saik als lang as þe kyrk sustenis & tholis þame / as þoc*h*t þai war gud and of haly lif for quhe*n* þai ar euill and þou honor*is* þame / þou humilis þe / and dois þat to ane euill ma*n* / in safer as he has the power autorite and mi*ni*stracioun of god and þou dois þat anerly for godd*is* saik / bot and he be gud and haly happin þou dois it for his wertu and halines / for þe haly sc*ri*ptur bidd*is* þe for þe honour and loving of god obey to þe officiar*is* of god / þoc*h*t þai be of euill lif / withy þat þai charge þe noc*h*t to brek þe law of god / or to do wrang *Obedite pre|positi*s *vestris eciam discolis* And in this mat*er* Errit and fell in herresie iohnne wicleif of ingland about a hundreth ȝer syn in the tym of þe truble of the kyrk and scisme / þat trowit þat quhe*n* the paip bischop or preist is noc*h*t in the stat of grace / þat þai mi*nister* noc*h*t the sacrame*ntis* na has noc*h*t power / þis was ane auld and paralus heresie / lang tyme befor him / condampnit / and eft*ir* his deid þe haly kyrk condampnit him as herretik / and the kyrk of [291r] ingland condampnit him in his lif / and eft*ir* his deid war condampnit *iohannes huse* and *ieronim*us *de praga* and brynt in the counsall of constaunce / þat folowit his Errour*is* / Verite is / þat the kyrkme*n* þat mi*nister*is

thir haly sacrame*n*t*is* 'i*n* syn' wittendly offend*is* god / Neu*ir*theles the sacrame*n*t is w*er*aly mi*nister*it / for quhethir þou be in syn or nocht / and the preist mi*nister* the haly sac*ra*me*n*t of ih*es*u and his body / þou resauis it weraly þo*ch*t þou syn þar in / as ih*es*us gaf his haly body to iudas / bot he sy*nn*it resauand it and sanct paule sais / *Probet aute*m *seip*sum *homo & sic de pane illo edat / et de calice bibat qui aute*m *manducat vel bibit indigne iudiciu*m *sibi man/ducat & bibit non diiudicans corpus domini* Sanct paule sais þat a pe*r*soune suld dispone him self / to resaue digne and deuotlie þe haly body of ih*es*u and he suld be out of syn / bot þo*ch*t he be in syn ȝit he resauis the haly body of ih*es*u / bot in þat he sy*nn*is gretlie and sal be iugit þarfor Richtsua the kyrkma*n* suld mi*nister* þe haly sacrame*n*t of þe eucharist in grace & out of syn / bot þo*ch*t he be in syn / ȝit he mi*nister*is the ⟨haly⟩ 'we*r*ra' sacrame*n*t and body of ih*es*u / bot he sy*nn*is þar in / and the pe*r*soune þat resauis it deuotlie has merit And þis mi*n*istracioun þat he dois in syn causis him no*ch*t to tyn his ordour*is* prestheid and sp*iri*tual auto*r*ite gevin to him / for iudas was ane of the apostlis of ih*es*u and preist / and quhe*n* he sauld and betrasit ih*es*u [291v] he tynt no*ch*t his prestheid na office Alsua Sanct petir in the passioun of ih*es*u denyit him w^{t} aith & iurame*n*t and ȝit he tynt no*ch*t his prestheid And ih*es*us tholit passioun vnde*r* cayphas and a*n*ne þat war prest*is* & bischoppis And þo*ch*t þar syn was gret & me*r*walus ȝit þai tynt no*ch*t þar ordour na autorite / bot the euuangell sais *Cum esset pontifex a*n*ni illius prophetauit* And quhe*n* cayphas adiurit ih*es*u þe sone of god / to tell quhethir he was werray sone of god naturall promittit for ma*n*nis redempcioun / for þe hono*ur* of his fader of hevin / he ansuerit humely for þe office þat god had gevin him he said *amen dico vobis Anmodo videbit*is *filiu*m *homi*n*is venientem etc.* Alsua pilate was pagane / and gave fals sentens agane ih*es*u / And ȝit ih*es*us grauntit þat þe fader of hevin gave power to þe Emp*ri*our of rome and to him *Non haberes* þ*otesta/tem in me vllam vllam nisi esset tibi datum desup*er And quhe*n* sanct paule had gevin maledicciou*n* agane the bischop / þat maid fals pe*r*secucioun agane him And þe iowis repreh*en*dit him / þat he ansuerit sa to þe bischop he ansuerit humely and said *Fratres nesciebam q*uod *summ*us *sacerdos esset* / And it is manifest / þat þo*ch*t the paip bischop or preist *com*mitt gret and

horrible syn ȝit þai tyn no*cht* þar ordour*is* na sp*iritu*all auto*ri*te / for to graunt or admytt þat / war our gret errour & enuch to distroy all the polecy in the waurld / for þe |292r| sa*m*myn errour will say / that quhe*n* the Emp*ri*our or king / is in deidly syn and out of grace / þat þai haue na iust title to þe empyr or realme / and richtsua of vthir p*er*soun*is* in dignite / and þis war our p*er*alus for it is agane the halywrit þat schawis þat the infidelis and synnar*is* has iust title to realmes Empir*is* or possessioun*is* / and gif þis had cours it wauld trouble all realmes and police / for sene we wait no*cht* quha is in grace and quha no*cht* ilk man my*cht* say of ony king prince or lord or vthir p*er*soune in dignite þat he war na ourma*n* to him / and þarfor he wauld[1] no*cht* obey / and this wauld caus all confu/sioun and infinit battalis and þe starkest euir to regne and haue dominacioun / w'out ony iuste title / and þis mater I haue tretit *Scolastice et sub|tili*ter *contra errores weicleif et aliorum* / in the begy*n*/nyng of the ferd buk of the senten*s* / And for caus þ*a*t I dreid þat þis errour / and sic lik has had and ȝit has p*ar*t of folowar*is* in þis land I haue spokin samekle / for þe reprobacioun & distruccioun of it for the defence / informacioun / and saluacioun of þe gud peple and conuersioun and help of þame þat ar or has bene infekkit thar in *etc.*

[292v] This folowand cheptur declar*is* quhow þe sac*ra*ment of ordour of preistheid is ordanit and deput prin/cipaly for þe consecracioun and min*is*tracioun of the eucharist / and haly body of ih*es*u And how this sac*ra*ment lift*is* þe sp*irit*ual men in honour & dign*i*te abone þe laude peple / and þar power to help the pepil in the sac*ra*ment of pennaunce *etc.*

And[1] Sene the Sacrament of ordour is institut and ordanit for the dispen/sacioun and min*is*tracioun of the haly sac*ra*/men*tis* Therfor maist principaly it is ordand & institut for þe noble hie and maist principale sacrament of þe haly body and blud of ih*es*u And sene þe haly eucha/rist is hiest and maist noble amang all the sac*ra*/men*tis* / þar suld vthir greis of les p*er*fecciouⁿ preced and gang befor it / to induce and help þe p*er*soune tocum / to þe dignite and p*er*fecciouⁿ of ordour ⟨of⟩ & min*is*tracioun of it / we se þat þe ⟨lis⟩ litstar / þat will put þe maist noble colour of Scarlet in[2] [293r] a claith / first he induc*is* and causis vthir colour*is* in the claith / and disponis it to þe recepcioun / of þe maist noble colour / Alsua we se in the man mony pow/er*is* and greis of p*er*fecciouⁿ / and þe les p*er*fecciouⁿ is euir subordinat / and s*er*uis to þe mar and hier & ordand for it / as the power vigitatiue to þe sensi/tiue / and the sensitiue to þe intellectiue and fre arbit*er* Richtsua it is in the sp*irit*ual autorite and ordour*is* of þe kyrk / for þai ar vi greis / ordour*is* & officis / or þai cum to þe hie ordour of prestheid þat is of gret dignite and sanct iohne Crisostome has maid a noble buk of the dignite of it / And all thir greis and offic*is* ar multiplyit and distingit in ⟨all thir greis and offic*is*⟩ safer / as þai s*er*ue mar or les and has appropinquacioun to þe haly eucharist and sac*ra*ment of the altar / for it is in the hie stage and dignite abone all the laif The power and autorite inme/diatlie ordanit / for þe consecracioun and min*is*tra/cioun of

it/ / is þe autorite and power sac*er*dotall and all the laif ar ordand to mak s*er*uice and mi*n*istracioun to þe Sac*ra*me*n*t of the altar and power sac*er*dotale / or to þame þat resauis it And þus þai ar vii greis and power*is* ordanit for þe mi*n*istra/cioun of this haly sac*ra*me*n*t of the body of ihesu sum nerrar / Sum mar distaunt / þat ar callit þe greis of ordour*is* / The first is / *gradus hostiarii* 2us *lectoris Tercius exorciste* / *quartus officiu*m *accolite* / [293v] *quintus subdiaconi sextus diaconi septim*us *sacerdot*is And all thir greis offic*is* and power*is* has þar prope*r* operacioun / ilkane distingit fra vthir / and befor thir þar mone be a distinccioun visible to seuer and disting þe clerk*is* fra the laif / and þat is þe tonsour and schawin in the heid / and þat is noc*h*t ane ordour bot a takin profes/sioun and attestacioun of þai*m* / that gevis þame to þe s*er*uice of god / and the thing þat is gevin to þe bischoppis attour þe preist / is mar a dignite na ane vthir And all the clergi is liftit in dignite abon the laif of the lawde pepil / bot amang þe clerk*is* þar is mar dignite and les / eft*ir* þe greis & ordour*is* that I haue spokin of befor / And as þe hiest and mast noble p*ar*t of the saule / þat is the p*ar*t intellec/tiue and fre arbite*r* is *con*iunyt to god i*n*mediatlie and the laif of the power*is* of þe saule ar vnd*er* it and s*er*uys to it Richtsua the power sac*er*dotale is ordand i*n*mediatlie for þe consecracioun and mi*n*istra/cioun of this haly sac*ra*me*n*t of the body of ihesu And the vthir ordour*is* ar mekle lawar and vnd*er* it in s*er*uice and mi*n*istracioun / and the preist has the natur of ma*n* / and p*er*feccioun naturale / And w^{t} þat has all the greis and sp*irit*ual p*er*feccioun wnd*er*[1] the prestheid / and our all thir has þe excellent & hie dignite of prestheid Tharfor the preist con/secrand and mi*n*istrand þis haly sac*ra*me*n*t *con*iunys all the lawar greis w^{t} god with his humanite / and [294r] w^{t} the haly body of ih*es*u / and as þar is bot a god / that of his power has maid all creatur Ry*ch*t/sua þar is bot a hie and noble preist ih*es*us *p*salmus *Sacerdos inet*e*rnu*m secundu*m ordine*m *melchisidech* / þat has ordanit all the laif / quia *est pontifex magnus qui penetrauit celos* for his humanite is maryit and iunyt p*er*petuall w^{t} the di*u*inite And sene þis sac*ra*me*n*t of ordinacioun is ordand for þe mi*n*istracioun of þe laif of the sacrame*n*t*is* And sene the sacrame*n*t of pe*n*naunce is mi*n*iste*r*it / be the maner of p*ar*ticular iugeme*n*t and secret Tharfor it is necessar and richt expedie*n*t þat þar be a

p*ar*ticular iuge to examyn and iuge þe sy*n*nis / & sene nane has power þarof / bot gif he haue power of þe hie and noble lord / þat þe sy*n*nis ar *com*myttit agane / and has power of lif and deid And our all creatur Tharfor it is necessar / þat he graunt & gif þis power to heir þe confessioun / and absolʒe fra þe sy*n*nis and *in*iune pe*n*naunce / and þis is done and gevin to þe preist quhe*n* he resauis ordour*is* / and the cur of the pepil And sene þe sa*m*my*n* ma*n* assolʒeis þe p*er*/soune fra syn / and mi*n*ister*is* to him þe haly eucharist the preist first resauis power of þe consecracioun & mi*n*istracioun / of the body of ih*es*u / & *ex* consequen*ti* he resavis power to absolʒe þe pepill fra þar syn And þis power is callit *clauis* / for it intr*o*duc*is* þe ma*n* in the companʒe of þe haly pepil / and in the luf of ih*es*u [294v] And eft*ir*wart in the realme of paradice sup*er*nal And sene the ordinacioun of the kyrkme*n* in sp*iri*tual auto*ri*te and power is a sac*ra*me*n*t of gret dignite amang the laif / þarfor 'as' þar is requirit power and autorite to mi*n*ist*er* co*n*secrat and dispence þe laif of the sacra/men*tis* / and for þat is institut þe sac*ra*me*n*t of ordour Richtsua þar is requirit power and auto*ri*te to *con*fer gif dispens and mi*n*ist*er* þe sacrame*n*t of ordour / And þarfor þar mone be p*ar*t of mar auto*ri*te / þan[1] þe sempil preist has / and þus I find in the cr*i*stianite ane assens passage and leddir of thre noble greis and stag*is* in the first be the haly bapteme / þe cr*i*stin ma*n* is exaltit in hono*ur* and dignite aboune thame þat has na bapteme / for he is in grace & heretar to þe realme of paradice and þe woma*n* alsua And þe to*þir* þat is no*ch*t cr*i*stinit / is in syn and oblist to dampnacioun et*er*nall / The secund gre and eleua/cioun is quhe*n* þe cr*i*stin ma*n* resauis ordour*is* spec*i*ali of prestheid / þan is he gretlie exaltit and honorit our þe laif / as I haue declarit befor / And eft*ir* þis þar mone be ane þat has power / and autorite to gif þe haly ordour*is* and suld mi*n*ist*er* þat sac*ra*me*n*t and he is in gretar auto*ri*te na is þe sempill prest and þat is þe thrid stage and gre of hono*ur* in the cr*i*stianite / and þis power is grauntit to þe prelatis and bischoppis abone vthir kyrkme*n* / for ih*es*us his [295r] self first maid and ordanit the first prest*is* / that war his digne and wourthi apostlis of his law & grace and eft*ir* þat / he passit to hevin and conuersit no*ch*t bodely heir / he gaf þame power to consecrat / and ordand vthir kyrkme*n* / for sua did all the apostlis be the autorite gevin to

þame / as sanct petir sanct clem*en*t and mony vthir as sanct iohne *in asia minori* sanct paule *titu*m *et thimotheu*m / and ordand and gaf þame power to consecrat preist*is* Sanct clement send 'sanct' deonys in fraunce / and richtsua the laif & þis is cleir in the pistolis of Sanct paule / and sall endur quhil þe end of the waurld Bot quhe*n* the bischopis consecrat*is* þe preist*is* and gevis ordour*is* / þai do c*er*tane thing*is* sensible wourd*is* and vthir thing*is* bot ihe*s*us produc*is* and causis i*n*mediatlie the carectar and sp*irit*ual power and auto*r*ite in þar saule And sene ihe*s*us has foundit his kyrk in all polecy be hevinly wisdome / he has left it and ordand it in vnite w[t]out diuisioun / Or ellis it had bene foundit[1] in gret waknes and confusioun / þarfor he has foundit it in pece in concord and vnite / Tharfor he has no*ch*t ordand in it mony heid*is* ilkane of als gret power as vthir bot sene he is ane & heid of the kirk vniu*er*sal / richtsua he has ordand vnd*er* him his louete*n*nand and vicar general / abone [295v] all the laif and þat was sanct petir for ihe*s*us said to him *Tu vocaberis cephas / et iterum pasce oues meas 'quo ad magnos & pasce agnos meos quo ad p*aruos*/'*[2] and þus he þat succed*is* to Sanct petir is vicar general of ihe*s*u hiest in the c*r*istianite *Cum plenitudine potestat*is heid of all þe c*r*istin pepill and represent*is* þe p*er*soune of ihe*s*u

This cheptur folowand declar*is* þe gret excellence of the louete*n*nand and vicar generale of ih*es*u / and comper*is* the temporale power to þe sp*iri*-*t*ual power /

And[1] þus be werray ressoune & best ordanit polecy þis gret and hiest prest *Est caput vicarium tocius ecclesie* / he is hiest in all the cristianite and has full power abone þe cristin pepill *habet enim plenitudinem potestatis* / he has vniuersal power to gif & dispence all ordouris and digniteis in the kyrk [296r] to institut and ordand preistis bischopis and vthir digniteis in all the waurld / and our þat he has power vniuersal to absolȝe fra all maner of synnis þat ony persoune committis / w[t]out ony artacioun or restric/cioun[2] / for his power is vniuersal and procedis inmediat/lie fra ihesu / for he is his vicar inmediat & spiritual louete*n*nand in Erd / and sene the power & autorite sacerdotale / has twa operacionis / ane anens þe consecracioun and ministracioun of þe haly body of ihesu *Supra corpus* Christi *verum* and ane vthir to iuge and absolȝe þe pepil fra þar syn and trespas in the sacrament of pennaunce *Supra corpus* Christi *misticum* And thir twa poweris ar iunyt to giddir and has ane rute and foundament / bot þe power and autorite sacerdotale / anens þe haly sacrament of the eucharist / and body of ihesu / may nocht be mar na les in a preist / na in ane vthir preist bot in all equale And þarfor þe pape and vniuersal vicar of ihesu has nocht þis power mar na ane vthir preist / bot he has þe power sacerdotale and mar[3] ampill and w[t] mar extensioun / for he may gif ordouris / and anens þe power and autorite sacerdotal in iugement / and absolucioun fra þe syn / the power sacerdotale is equale in the rut / for it is foundit in the carectar / þat ihesus inprimys inmediat/lie in the saule / and þarfor in cais of necessite [296v] and extreme artikle of deid the sempil preist may ab/solȝe fra all syn / bot anens þe wse and excercicioun of this power sacerdotale / þar is gret differens &

mervа/lus[1] distaunce / for þe preist may nocht excers and wse this power and autorite / bot gif he haue men or women subiekkit to him / þat he may iuge and absolȝe and apply his power to / and anens þe wse and exercicioun of this power to iuge and absolȝe þe gret preist and vniuersal vicar of ihesu has it w[l]out artacioun or limitacioun / and þai þat ar vnder him has þe wse and exercitacioun of þis power vpon þe persone as þe vniuersal vicar and louetennand of ihesu gevis þam power to wse and exers þar power and autorite And þus þar power / þat is þe applicacioun of þar power may be mar or les eftir as þe paip gevis þame power abone monyar or fewar pepil / and anens gretar and les synnis and he may clos þe handis of the person that is vnder him for ressonable caus And þis power þat þe kyrk and þe vicar of ihesu graunt*is* & gevis to þe preist*is* þat ar ordanit vnder him is callit *Potestas iurisdiccionis vel iurisdiccio & sic potestas ⟨hominis⟩ ordinis discendit immediate a cristo / sed potestas iurisdiccionis vel iuris/diccio discendit a cristo / Et A*[2] *papa & hoc mediate vel immediate* And þus he gevis to mony and sindry in diuers part*is* of the waurld / this power of ministracioun of ordour*is* and [297r] of iurisdiccioun sum mar sum les and part of thir ar patriark*is* part primates part archibischoppis part bischopis and vthir diuers archidenis provest*is* and digniteis to þe curat And the power 'foundment'[3] of all thir is the power sacer/dotale And þus þe spiritual power exalt*is* þe persoun*is* þat has it / abone the temporale and lawde pepil And ihesus vnys all the cristin peple vnder him and vnder his vicar generale þat is callit / *papa* / þat is *pater patrum* And þus I find mony perfecciouns amang þe creatur*is* / first ascendand fra þe nethmest Element The Erd to þe hevin / and to þe hiest and maist noble body of the hevynnis Ane vthir ascens I find amang þe herbis and treis fra the lawast in dignite to þe hiest and maist noble Richtsua amang the best*is* and fisch fra þe lawast to þe hiest and maist noble And in the man in his power*is* natural fra þe power vigitatiue to þe sensitiue ascendand to þe intellectiue And amang þe men I find a part lai/cale / and þar is gret ordour and dignite ascendand fra þe lauborar or sempil persoune to þe hier stag mar and mar quhil þou cum to þe baroune / fra þe baroune to þe Erle and eftir to þe marquys and duk to þe king and empriour / bot þar is a gretar and mar noble part in þe

humane linage that is callit þe p*ar*t clericale / þat I haue spokin of befor / And þus [297v] ascendand þe paip and vicar general of ih*es*u is the heid of all the cr*is*tianite And the p*ar*t clerical is mar wourthi and gou*er*nis the p*ar*t laical / and mi*nist*er*is* the sac*ra*men*tis* to þe laude pepil / and as þe man is constitut and componit of the saule and þe body Richtsua the kyrk of ih*es*u / is integrat ⟨and⟩ 'of' þe part ⟨laical⟩ clericall and of the p*ar*t laical / and as þe saule is mar noble na is the body and causis influe*n*s in it Richtsua the p*ar*t clerical / is of mar nobilite / and causis influe*n*s in the to*pir* that is þe p*ar*t laical be doctrine of ih*es*u and of þe halysc*ri*ptur and mi*ni*stracioun of þe haly sacrame*n*t*is* / And þus þar is twa man*er*is of lyffing the lif corporale þat is sustenit be corporale nurising and the lif sp*irit*uale that is mar excellent / and is sustenit be sp*irit*uale nut*ri*cioun of þe haly sacrame*n*t*is* and as þe waurld is in gret dignite / for þe diu*er*s ordour*is* of creatur*is* fund in it Richtsua þe haly kyrk of ih*es*u is richt excellent in dignite / for caus of þe laud pepill and clergi / and the ordour þat is in ilkane of þame / bot þe clergi excellis / And sene the power laical is lik þe body / and clericale is lik the saule / And sene god maid first the body and syn the saule Ry*ch*tsua the power laicall was lang befor þat ih*es*us com in the waurld and gaf þis ⟨sp⟩ power sp*irit*ual And [298r] quh*en* the power laical was ordanit & best dispo*n*it in all the waurld / and in the gretest power and had do*m*inacioun / of the gretest and maist noble Cite of rome / þan come þe sp*irit*ual power and subiekkit to it the power temporale in the hiest and maist no/ble Empyr in the waurld that was rome And þe terrene power resauis þe sp*irit*ual power to gouerne it as þe body dois þe saule / And þus þai twa power*is* ar mixt to gidd*ir* in all the cr*is*tianite And as the saule gevis lif to þe body Richtsua þe sp*irit*ual power reduc*is* the temporale to þe knawlage and s*er*uis 'of' god / and gevis it lif sp*irit*ual / and as þe body is deid quh*en* þe saule p*ar*t*is* fra it Richtsua the power and p*ar*t laicall war deid sp*irit*ualy / and it war seuerit fra þe power sp*irit*ual and p*ar*t clerical And þarfor þe temporale lord*is* '& princ*is*' suld consid*er* and wnd*er*stand quhow h(u)mely[1] þar noble progenito*uris* subiekkit þame to þe power sp*irit*ual / in all deuocioun and humilite / and in fundacioun of mony kyrk*is* and abbais And quhow þe gret Empyr of rome /

humely subiek/kit it to þe sp*irit*ual power / and to þe vicar ge/n*er*al and louete*nn*and of ih*es*u Tharfor þe cr*is*tin p*rinc*is and pepill suld deligentlie consid*er* and wnd*er*stand quhow þis sp*irit*ual power has Rysyn and subiekkit to it / all the waurld / and þe maist noble p*rinc*is & [298v] king*is* that euir was and maist noble pepil / at all has obeyit / to þe vicar and louete*nn*and of ih*es*u / for the hono*ur* and reuerence of him and for þar saluacioun And þus þai suld consid*er* þar state / þat is no*ch*t com/p(a)rable[1] / to þe princ*is* and pepil that has bene befor and humely subiekkit and submyttit þame to ih*es*u The mat*er* of þis sacrame*n*t of ordour is the thing*is* be tradicioun / of the quhilk / ordour is gev*in* as in prestheid þe[2] gevin of þe chalice / þe forme of þis sacrame*n*t is sic wourd*is* / *Accipe potestatem offe/rendi sacramentum in ecclesia pro viuis & mortuis* And richtsua in the laif of the ordour*is* The m*inist*er is the bischop / And grace is augme*n*tit in þe colla/cioun of this sacrament Agane þis haly sac*r*ame*n*t and wertu of it was þe gret herretik Arrius þat in his herresie said þat þar was na differe*n*s in collacioun of ordour*is* betuix þe bischop and the sempil preist / bot þo*ch*t the power sac*er*dotale / be equal ȝit the power[3] ȝit the bischop has grauntit to him be the paip the power of iurisdiccioun and collacioun of ordour*is* / and exercicioun þarof and sa has no*ch*t the preist / as I haue declarit befor / and of þis mak*is* *Armachanus primas hiber/nie* men*c*ioun / bot his det*er*mi*n*acioun is no*ch*t sek that he putt*is* *in questionibus armeniorum etc.*

[299r] This folowand cheptur de/clar*is* þe necessite and condicioun of þe haly sac*ra*me*n*t of mariag quhow it is *con*iu*n*ccioun insep*ar*a/ble / for þar lif betuix þe ma*n* and woman and als p*ar*t of gret dig/niteis of it *etc.*

TRew[1] it is þat god maid noc*h*t all me*n* to gidd*ir* in a tyme / as he did þe an/gellis / bot maid þe first ma*n* and first woma*n* and ordand þat be the genera/cioun of þame and þar barnis þe waurldle pepill suld incres and multiply / for he said to þame / *Crescite et multiplicam*ini *et replete terram* / And he did þis for þe hono*ur* of the ma*n* / þat he suld be heid and begy*nn*yng of all the humane linage / as god was of all creatur *Vt esset secundus preses post deum in vniuerso orbe terrarum* And als for þe vtilite of ma*n* þat sene þai haue all a fad*er* þat creat*is* i*n*mediat/lie þar saule / þat is god and a fader carnal þ*at* þai discend fra / that was Adam þar suld be mar vnite and tend*ir* luf amang þame And amang [299v] all me*n* ar twa noble frat*er*niteis ane[2] sp*irit*uall ane*n*s þar saulis þat god creat*is* / and ane carnale ane*n*s þar body / for þai discend all of Adam / bot the c*r*istin peple amang þame has þe thrid frat*er*nite / þat is richt noble and sp*irit*ual / for ih*es*u be the wertu of his passion and the sacrame*n*t of bapteme / has generit þame all in grace and sp*irit*ual lif / and þarfor amang þame suld be gret ardent luf and cherite / And þus ilk man*er* of thir thre generaciou*n*is is a takin and witnessing of vnite / and tend*ir* luf þat ilkane suld haue to vthir And sene all the gud hono*ur* and p*er*feccioun of þe ma*n* is / þat he haue acces and *con*iu*n*ccioun w[t] god his crea/tor sene his lif all his p*er*feccioun and final beatitud depend*is* and cu*m*mys of him And sene this vnioun and p*er*feccioun is sp*irit*ual and inuisible / and is þe p*er*feccioun and final end of ma*n* it suld be declarit & signifiit / als fer as it may be signifiit and figurit be thing*is* *visibilis & sensibilis* Tharfor god has ordand þat þe humane linag*e* be sa multiplyit and producit / at þat maner

of produccioun and multiplicacioun / suld be a figur and visible takin and signe of inuisible and sp*irit*ual *con*iun*c*/cioun / betuix god and ma*n* / þat is causit be sp*irit*ual luf and cherite / for in þat stand*is* 'all' þe hail stat and p*er*feccioun of ma*n* And for declaracioun and manifestacioun of þis god has ordanit þat þe ⟨p*rog*⟩ p*ro*pagacioun & gene/racioun of ma*n* / and multiplicacioun of our natur suld be throu mariage and *con*iun*c*cioun / betuix ma*n*[1] [300r] and woma*n* / þat a ma*n* suld marye a woma*n* / for in the begy*n*nyng of the waurld god creat and maid a ma*n* and a woma*n* and iunyt þame to gidd*ir* in ma/riage / he ordand no*ch*t mony wome*n* to a ma*n* / na mony me*n* to a woma*n* / and ordand þat þis vnioun and *con*iun*c*cioun suld be insep*ar*able and indissoluble / And þ*us* in the begy*n*nyng of þe creacioun of humane linage mariage was ordanit be the hevinly wisdome of god / for twa thing*is* / First for generacioun and multipli/cacioun of me*n* / and als for a takin figur & sac*ram*e*n*t representand and figurand þe sp*irit*ual and inuisible *con*iun*c*cioun of god w[t] the creatur & saule of ma*n* be fre and hartlie luf betuix þame And to wnd*er*stand this mar plane þou suld knaw þat in the begy*n*/nyng of the waurld / and first creacioun of the ma*n* god ordanit and producit twa m*er*walus *con*iun*c*/ciouns in our natur / The first was quhe*n* he iunyt couplit and maryit / þe saule of the ma*n* and þe woma*n* w[t] the flesch and bodely natur / and þis was w[t]out consent of the saule / and was naturall Ane vthir *con*iun*c*cioun god causit and producit in þe natur hu/mane / quhe*n* he iunyt þe woma*n* w[t] the ma*n* in band vnseuerable and no*ch*t p*ar*tible for þar lif and þis *con*iun*c*cio*un* was richt ressonable and digne / for it was & is and suld be / of þar awne fre will and liberte for it is done be the prop*er* consent and luf of baith þe p*er*son*is* [300v] And the first *con*iun*c*cioun of the saule with the body figurit and signifyit þis secund *con*iun*c*cioun of the ma*n* and þe woma*n* to gidd*ir* in mariage / for as the saule is mar digne and has dom*in*acioun and gou*er*naunce of þi body Richtsua þe ma*n* þat is couplit in mariag*e* w[t] the woma*n* / and as þou seis a saule 'iu(n)it[2] w[t] þe body' / and no*ch*t w[t] ⟨wo⟩ mony / Richtsua a ma*n* suld haue bot a woman in mariage And as the *con*iun*c*cioun of the saule and the body / can no*ch*t be distroyit bot anerlie be deid Richtsua it is of þe *con*iun*c*cioun of þe ma*n* and woma*n* in mariage / for as ih*es*us sais

/ *quos deus* con*iunxit homo non sep*ar*et* / And attour þis now this secund *con*iu*nc*/cioun in mariage signifyis and betaky*n*nis þe *con*iu*nc*/cioun of the saule / and of þe humane natur with god / and þis is the thrid and maist noble of all And baith the twa precedent ar ordanit finaly for þis / for þir thre ar ordinate / and þe secund ascend*is* in dignite and exced*is* the first / And the thrid exced*is* baith þe first and þe secund / in the first þe body is iunyt w^{t} the saule / and tak*is* lif and þe p*er*feccioun of it / bot it has nouthir wit na wnd*er*standing fre consent na luf / bot in the secund þe woma*n* & lady is iunyt w^{t} þe ma*n* be knawlage consent and hartlie luf / for sche has body & saule / as þe ma*n* has and þe vthir p*er*feccioun*is* requirit þar to / And þarfor þe saule and spreit of þe woma*n* '& lady is iunit i*n* conse*n*t & luf w^{t} þe saule and spreit of þe ma*n*'[1] and als hir body is iunyt tend*ir*lie w^{t} his body And in the thrid *con*iu*nc* / [301r] cioun baith the ma*n* and þe woma*n* and all þe hu/mane natur suld be iunyt[2] w^{t} god for þai ar all maid and ordanit for þat end and final p*er*feccioun And as in the first *con*iu*nc*cioun þe body is gretlie exaltit be the vnioun and *con*iu*nc*cioun of it w^{t} the saule þat is sp*irit*ual natur / Richtsua in the secund *con*iu*nc*cioun þe woma*n* is exaltit ⟨of⟩ 'be' the *con*iu*nc*cioun of hir w^{t} the ma*n*/ / and baith thir betaky*n*nis and signifyis / þat baith the ma*n* and woma*n* and all þe humane linage is gretlie exaltit and magnifiit be the *con*iu*nc*cioun of it w^{t} god þe creator / and as þe body is iunyt w^{t} the saule / and þai twa ar a p*er*soune Richtsua the humane natur is iunyt w^{t} god and þai ar a p*er*soune / Athanasius *Nam sicut anima raciona/lis & caro vnus est homo ita deus & homo vn*us *e*st Christ*us* / And as þe woma*n* is iunyt w^{t} the ma*n* be sp*irit*ual luf and amite Richtsua god has vnyt w^{t} him þe halikyrk and c*r*istianite / and þus þe halikyrk has it in þe maner of þe spous of ih*es*us / and he is þe husband and spous of it / for ih*es*us is a p*er*son and þe halykyrk has it as ane vthir p*er*soune *con*iunyt to him in gret luf and tend*ir*nes/ / '&' as þe first ma*n* was iunyt w^{t} the first woma*n* in the state of innocens/ / bot that vnioun befor the incarnacioun betuix god and the kyrk / was no*ch*t bot be luf and amite / as was betuix þe ma*n* and the woma*n* Bot eft*ir* þe incarnacioun þe kyrk and c*r*istianite is vnit [301v] w^{t} the sone of god þat is werray ma*n* And þarfor þai ar now twa vniou*n*is / ane of þe sone of god w^{t} his prop*er* humanite

and þis is p*er*sonal The secund is of ih*es*u þe sone of god w^{t} all the kyrk and c*ri*stianite And sene the kyrk and the haly c*ri*stianite is þe spous of ih*es*u / þat is god and ma*n* Richt as þe first woma*n* þat was maid w^{t} the first ma*n* / and was his spous and wif / discendit of him / and was formyt of his syd Rychtsua all þe haly kyrk and c*ri*stianite is formyt & discendit of ih*es*u / for all þe c*ri*stin peple ar sp*iri*tualy generit be þe sacrame*n*t*is* / and first be the haly bapteme / and all thir sac*ra*ment*is* 'tak*is*' þar wertu fra þe haly passioun and deid of ih*es*u And þarfor all the c*ri*stianite and halykyrk 'is þe haly spous lady & wif of ih*es*u maryit w^{t} h*im* in g*re*t halines & chastite & þis mariag of ih*es*u & þe halikyrk'[1] is figurit and sig*ni*fiit be the mariage betuix the ma*n* and þe woma*n* for as þe ma*n* and woma*n* has conformite in natur Richtsua has ih*es*us and the haly kyrk / for he is of our natur a werray ma*n* and as þe ma*n* lufis þe woma*n* and sche lufis him & obeyis to him Richtsua ih*es*us lufis þe kyrk / and þe kyrk lufis him / and obeyis in all humilite to him and mariage is a haly sac*ra*me*n*t it signifyis and betaky*n*nis a haly thing þat is sp*iri*tual and insensible and þat sp*iri*tual and inuisible thing þat it beta/ky*n*nis is mar noble and digne na þe sacrament is in the self / *q*uia *signu*m *est propt*er *signatum et non e conuerso* / for sene þe matrimon*e* and mariage is institut and ordanit to signify þis sp*iri*tual vnioun [302r] and *con*iun*cc*ioun / þat is betuix the saule & ih*es*u and þe humane natur and ih*es*u / þarfor þis sp*iri*tual vnioun is mar noble and excellent / for þe p*er*soune of the sone of god has iunyt[2] to him þe humane nat*ur* And þai ar a p*er*soune / sua[3] 'þat' þe sone of god þat has vnit and maryit þat natur to him is a p*er*sone þat is baith god and ma*n* / and þis haly p*er*soune ih*es*us has vnit to him be wertu of þe sacrame*n*t*is* þe c*ri*stin pepill in gret luf and obedie*n*s / he has deliuerit þame fra þar syn and vnit to him i*n* sp*iri*tual luf in grace and wertu and haly mariag / and þat is be the fre will and consent of baith And be þis maner mariage is ane auld sacrame*n*t / and als ane new / for befor the incarnacioun it signifyit þe vnioun sp*iri*tual in luf and amite betuix god and his pepil þat war diu*er*s in p*er*soun*is* / as þe ma*n* and the woma*n* / bot now in the new law / eft*ir* þat godd*is* sone has assumyt and tane humanite ma/riage signifis the vnioun and hie *con*iun*cc*ioun of þe hie di*ui*nite and our natur in a p*er*soune of ih*es*u And þis is

mekle mar excellent noble and tend*ir* to him / And þarfor it is ane new sacrame*n*t / for þe ma*n* & the woma*n* ar baith of a natur and þai produce a child / þat baith þar natur*is* *con*venis in / & in the p*er*soune of ih*es*u *con*uenis the di*ui*nite / and our natur i*n* his humanite And þarfor sais sanct paule / *Ego aute*m *dico* [302v] *hoc sacramentum magnu*m *in* Christo *et ecclesia* And '*in*' all thir *con*iu*n*cciou*n*is *vnu*m *se habet* þer *modum agent*is *i.e. vir vel deus et alterum* þer *modum pacient*is *i.e. mulier vel natura assumpta vel ecclesia quia* Christ*us influit in sua*m *eccles*i*am*

This folowand cheptur declar*is* quhou þe haly mariage causis sp*irit*uale grace and help agane carnal concupiscence / and how stratlie me*n* ar oblist to keip þar mariage

Ande[1] Sene mariag is ane of the haly / sac*ra*me*nt*is / þat ihesus þe sone of god i*n* his humanite has ordanit and institut / for our help suple and saluacioun / throw the wertu of his passioun glorius / Tharfor richt as the laif of the sac*ra*me*nt*is gevis sp*irit*ual[2] grace and help[3] to þe ma*n* in his mist*er* / Richtsua dois this haly sacrame*n*t of mariage it gevis sp*irit*uall grace help and suple in the thing*is* necessar and p*er*tenand [303r] to mariag / And sene in the sacrame*n*t of mariage þar is gevin to þe ma*n* power and faculte be þe institucioun and ordinaunce of god / to wse his wif for procreacioun and gen*er*acioun of barnis And to þe lady richtsua is gevin power on þe body of hir husband / for þat wse / þarfor þat haly sac*ra*me*n*t gevis þame grace quhar throu þai may do þis lauchfully and deuly / for þai suld be vnit to gidd*ir* in luf and consent / for þe procreacioun of childer þat þai suld nurys and tech / to þe s*er*uice of god þar creator and ih*es*u þar redemptor / And þis grace helpis þame in mariage / agane þe carnal concupiscence and fles(ch)ly[4] desyr / for in haly mariag*e* may be carnal *con*iu*n*ccioun betuix þe ma*n* and woma*n* proffitable and honest w^{t}out i*n*ordinat af/fecciou*n* and syn And quhar þe carnal concu/piscence / and fleschly desyr inclinis a ma*n* to desyr and haue company w^{t} mony and diu*er*s women / for a lichorus ma*n* is noc*h*t content of ane / þe grace gevin to þe ma*n* in þe haly mariage causis him to cheis him a woma*n* to his wif amang all vthir and be content and wse na vthir Alsua carnal concupiscence inclinis a ma*n* to fleschly lust & dilecta/cioun w^{t}out þe froit of childer or generacioun / for a lichorus ma*n* desyr*is* noc*h*t bot to haue his lust and carnal plesaunce / and wauld noc*h*t þat þar folouit [303v] frut or generacioun of it bot in haly mariage is gevin grace to þe

ma*n* / and help to knaw carna/ly his wif / and tak plesaunce of hir principaly / þat fruyt and generacioun suld folow Alsua carnale concupiscens vtouth mariage generis and causis *com*mounly fastidiacioun / sa þat eft*ir* þat a ma*n* haue had his lust and plesaunce of a lady he mak*is* bot litle count of hir / bot wauld tak his lust and plesaunce w^{t} ane vthir / bot in mariage is gevin grace / and help to þe ma*n* / that he be content of ane / and of þe lady þat he is mariit w^{t} and lufis hir and sche plesis him mar na ony vthir And þus in mariage is treuth and gud faith kepit be/tuex þe ma*n* and the lady / þat ane of þame wil no*ch*t haue carnale *con*iun*cc*ioun w^{t} nane vthir vtouth mariage / and of it cu*m*mys fructuosite generacioun And þis insep*ar*able vnioun betuix þe ma*n* and the woma*n* in mariage is a sacrame*n*t and signifyis þe sp*irit*ual vnioun þat I haue spokin of befor And þus in mariage ar thre gret excellent dig*n*iteis *i.e. fides proles et sacramentum* And the grace þat is gevin to a p*er*soune in mariage waik*is* and rep*re*/mys þe carnale concupiscence / þat it is no*ch*t sa stark / and thir thre digniteis in mariage þat I haue spokin of 'befor' *fides proles et sacramentum* honor*is* mariage and causis at þe carnal operacioun [304r] betuix the ma*n* and the woma*n* / at concupiscens incli/nis þame to / is lefull and w^{t}out turpitud or syn And vtouth mariage / þis operacioun is euir wnlefull foule and dedly syn / and war no*ch*t haly mariage oftymes þe ma*n* wauld byrne in concupiscence / bot þis het / mariage stanchis w^{t}out syn / And as in the laif of the sac*ra*men*t*is / þar is thing*is* sensible and thin(g)*is*[1] insensible / and the thing*is* sensible led*is* ws in the knawlage of the thing*is* insensible / þe wourd*is* and ext*er*ior operacioun*is* / þat þe ma*n* & woman sais and dois ar sensible / and signifyis þe inwart and hartlie consent of þame in þis haly sac*ra*me*n*t for p*er*petuall cohabitacioun and duelling to gidd*ir* and alsua þar consent to carnale vnioun / And is causit betuix þe ma*n* and woma*n* a band and obligacioun inuisible and þat is a sp*irit*ual *con*iun*c*/cioun / þat neuir may be seuerit als lang as þai lif in þis mortale lif And þus þou seis heir thre thing*is* ordinatlie[2] þe first is the wourd*is* þat þe ma*n* and þe woma*n* sais / þat signi/fiis betuix þe ma*n* and þe woma*n* þe consent / the secund thing is þar consent to gidd*ir* of þar awne will and liberte *in carnalem copulam* The thrid thing and principale is þe obligacioun & band wnp*ar*tible for þar lif

betuix þe man and the woman / and þis coniunccioun signifyis þe spiritуale [304v] coniunccioun betuix god and the saule and the coniunccioun betuix þe sone of god and the humane natur in a persoune of ihesu / and betuix ihesu and the kyrk And þarfor þis sacrament is mekle in significacioun *in* Christo *et ecclesia* as sais Sanct paule And þus sene *in* ma/riage betuix þe man and þe woman þar is a band and obligacioun wnpartible for þar lif be þat band and obligacioun þe body of þe woman is wndir þe power of the man to carnale operacioun And þe body of þe man is in the power of þe woman to þe sammyn effect for in þat þai ar fallouis god maid þe woman of þe syd of the man and noght of his heid na of his feit to signify þat in the opera/cioun carnal and power þarof sche suld be fallouit to him and nouthir mastres na seruand And of this power þat ane of þame has on vthir cum/mys þe carnal operacioun and coniunccioun & þe woman is oblist to graunt to þe man quhen he desiris þat operacioun / and richtsua þe man to his wif / quhen sche desiris it resonably / and in mariage euir ar twa things / *fides* & *sacramentum* 'bot' þe thrid ⟨i⟩ *i.e.*[1] *proles* is nocht ay þar And sene ma/riage is[2] sa hie and noble a sacrament ordanit and institut be þe power and wisdome of god to represent and signify sa haly spiritual thingis as þe vnioun and coniunccioun of þe diuinite w[t] [305r] the humanite in þe persoune of ihesu / and the coniunc/cioun of god w[t] the saule of þe persoune and als þe mariage and coniunccioun of ihesu w[t] þe haly/kyrk / All þai þat ar in mariage and vtouth it suld gretlie honour it / and be na maner of way brek na fill it / for he þat dois wiolence to þe takin and signe he dois wiolence to þe thing þat is signifiit be it / and to him þat ordand and institut it And þarfor he or sche þat brekis or filis þis haly sacrament dois gret iniur to god þat ordand and institut it / he dois gret iniur to þe haly incarnacioun and coniunccioun of the diuinite w[t] the humanite in þe ⟨perfeccioun⟩ 'persone' of ihesu & he dois gret iniur to god & to þe halykyrk and als to ihesu and þe halikyrk for þis haly sacrament sig/nifyis all thir coniunccionis And þarfor ilk man suld be war þat he contempne nocht brek nocht na dis/honour nocht þis haly sacrament And sene ihesus is the haly spous of þe kyrk and þe cristin pepil and of þe deuot saule þou may weill consider & wnderstand þat as þe gud and wertuus man / lufis his

lady and wif richt tendirlie in chaist luf conseruit in mariage / and richtsua þe lady hir husband on þe sammyn mater ihesus lufis þe halykyrk and deuot saule and þai him / And as þe lord anournys [305v] w^t precius clething his hartlie louit lady and wif and defendis hir and sche is all tendir to him / and puttis hir all in his will and defence / and studiis to pleis hir lord in all thing sa dois ihesus to his hartlie lady and spous þe halikyrk he anournys it w^t all wertu scienis and grace and defendis it agane all perell and aduersite / and fra all Erdlie and infernall power and aduersite psalmus *Astitit regina a dextris tuis in westitu deaurato circumdata varietate* This haly/kyrk is þe spous and douchter of þe hie diuinite and god / psalmus *Audi filia et vide & inclina aurem tuam et obliuiscere populum tuum & domum patris tui* quia *concupiuit rex speciem tuam*[1] / The cristin peple has forsakin þe auld innemy as sais þe prophet / and has maryit ihesu / and þarfor he has gret plesaunce in þe halikyrk and in þe wertu and farnes of it / And sene ihesus is sa haly in glor eternall and inmortal all þis he has ordand to his hartlie lufit lady and spous þat is þe halykyrk and the gud cristin pepill The caus efficient of þe haly mariage is þe con/sent of the man and þe woman expremyt & declarit be the wourdis of the present tym / or vthir sufficient takynnis / incontrar to þis sacrament was sindry herre/seis *Primus Cacianorum qui dampnabant nupcias* bot agane þis is þe auld law in þe begynnyng of genesis / and þe euuangel of ihesus / *quos deus coniunxit homo non separet* / and Sanct paule *ad* [306r] *Corinthios vii^o mulier non peccat si nubit* / The secund was þe herresie of iouiniane þat said þat mariage is als perfit as virginite / þis is fals in the law of grace quia *paulus prefert virginitatem nupciis* And ihesus was nocht maryt / þat had þe maist perfit stat þat man mycht haue / The thrid was *heresis nicholaitarum* / *qui indifferenter mutui i.e. vtebantur vxoribus* / bot þis herresie is reprovit in the apocalips / and it is agane þe faith and mony placis of þe halyscriptur *Relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adherebit vxori sue et erunt duo in carne vna* / And þis heresi is agane moral philo/sophi and waurldly policy and arestotil reprovis & reprehendis it at lenth in the secund buk of polethikis and sais þat it was þe polecy of plato And mony noble condicioun of mariage and þe gret proffit and dignite of it Arestotil þe gret clerk teichis in his twa bukis of

Iconomik*is* And þus Souuerane lord be the help of ih*es*u and his haly mod*er* ar completit thir vi buk*is* maid w^{t} gret laubour / for þe hono*ur* of god s*er*uice and proffit of þi hienes and peple And sene þi hienes is of ȝoutheid of excellent wit and wnd*er*standing / and þe haly sciens of theologie in gret p*ar*t is now declarit to þe And consid*er*and þat þi hienes suld be humyll and deuot an*en*s god & defenso*ur* of þe halikyrk his lady and spous iuste & w*er*tuus in gou*er*nyng of þi pepill and wse na wiole*n*s {306v} bot lawis of iustice and equite and prudent counsal in mat*er*is twichand þi stat p*er*soune and realme Now will I for þe gret and tend*ir* luf þat I haue to þi hienes writ p*ar*t of doctrine twichand þe mater of polecye / for þe gou*er*naunce and regim*en* of þi riall stat p*er*soune and realme And will for þis mat*er* proffitable to þe / and all þe stat*is* of þi realme Eik þe vii buk of all þis mat*er* completand þis diffi/cile werk and laubour

Finis sexti libri de sacramentis Sequitur Septimus liber et vltimus etc.

Book VII

[307r] This followand cheptur sall declar the original foundame*n*t of all law police iurisdiccioun & do*mi*nacioun vsit amang me*n* be the ordinaunce of god þe wys & hevi*n*ly gou*er*nour *etc.*

*D*iligitis[1] *iusticiam qui*[2] *iudicat*is *terram* Souuerane lord king Salamon wis and pecable king of isrle instrukkand the king*is* and iugis of the pepil / quhow þai suld haue þame in w*er*ray and p*er*fit police / sais thir wourd*is* & gevis þis wise doctrine in the buk of wisdome / he sais þat þai þat has the peple in gou*er*naunce suld luf iustice / and sene þe noble wertu and hevinly lady iustice ca*n* no*cht* be had w[t]out hyr scist*er*is pece m*er*cy and verite / *p*salmus *M*isericord*ia & veritas* [307v] *obuiauerunt sibi iusticia et pax osculate sunt* Tharfor in þis buk I propone to speik of thir noble w*er*tuis and vthir thing*is* p*er*tenand to w*er*tuis regime*n* and gude police And in this first cheptur I will speik of iustice And in the first I sall declar *quid est iusticia* / quhat thing is iustice And in the secund p*ar*t of þis cheptur I sall declar quha ar þai þat god has gevin auto*r*ite to / apone þe peple And in the thrid p*ar*t I sall declar p*ar*t of taky*n*nis / of þame þat lufis iustice / as to þe first *iusticia* est *constaunce & perpetua voluntas ius suum vnicuique tribuens* / iustice is a p*er*petual / stable and constant will to gif ilk p*er*soune þe thing þat is his / or p*er*te/nis to him / and þus aper*is* clerlie / þat prop*er*ly spek/and of iustice / it is þe will ressoune and ordinance of god / for na will of creatur prop*er*ly is of the natur constaunt stabill p*er*petual or *per*durable And þus þe rut foundame*n*t and fontane of all regime*n* do*mi*nacioun and police / is þe will of god / *q*uia *ipse* est *rex regum et* domin*us* dom*inanci*um / And sene þe fontane of iustice is þe ressoune and

will of god þe creator as sanct augustyn *con*clud*is* na persoune may knaw p*er*fitlie iustice bot in the hevinly licht / *Et in regu*/*lis eternis et immutabilibus* And þarfor þe haly scr*i*ptur þat schawis ws maist clerlie þe natur of god his prop*er*teis and reulis manifest*is* and declar*is* to ws quhat thing is iustice / and na vthir scien*s* na doc/trine may do þat in comp*er*isoune to it / And þarfor [308r] of þis haly doctrine of theologi hevinly wisdome and haly writ is writtin *Per me reges regnant et legum conditores iusta decernunt* And þus we may se quhow necessar and proffitable is þe haly scr*i*ptur and doctrine of theologie to king*is* princ*is* and þai*m* þat suld iuge þe pepil for to knaw iustice / for dauid salamon and vthir noble king*is* and princ*is* war richt gret clerk*is* and theologis / baith in þe auld law and new / and in þe haly scr*i*ptur and sciens of theologie / ar foundit all þe rut*is* and fonta/nis of iustice and all spring*is* furt*h* of it / And quhe*n* in ony law or writ is funde difficulte or p*er*plex/ite we mone euir returne to it And þus nane may be werray p*er*fit legist or iurist w[t]out þat he knaw þe haly scr*i*ptur and sciens of theologie *Sequitur in diffinicione ius suum vnicui*que *tribuens* / for na thing is richt / bot eft*ir* þe will and ordinaunce of god *þ*salmus *Omnia quecum*que *voluit dominus fecit in celo in terra in mari et in omnibus abissis* And tak/and þis wourd *lex* / and law generali eu*i*rilk thing has þe law eft*ir* þe natur / and kind of it *Vt iste sunt leges celi et bo(e)cius*[1] *deus certa lege cuncta cohercet* / bot heir I will spek prop*er*lie of iustice and law þat is appropr*i*it to creatur ressonable þat has fre will and liberte / and I find þat þar is iustice et*er*nall and increat and þat is god / and þar is iustice humane and creat and þis iustice[2] [308v] iustice humane and creat suld be conforme to þe iustice devin and increat / *Sicut vero exemplari* and in safer as it is conforme to it þe iustice creat / is werray iustice and equite And sene i*n* the di*ui*nite is power wisdome and clemen*s* Richtsua in the human⟨it⟩e[3] creatur / quhar iustice and law is obs*er*uit and kepit is pes / *hoc est pax ratione potencie* and þar is verite *ratione sapiencie* and þar is mercy *ratione clemencie* And to thir thre thing*is* i*n* þe di*ui*nite ar in þe creatur humane cor*respo*ndent thre thingis þat ar þe thre hevinly w*er*tuis sup*er*nal faith hop and cherite / we suld haue hop in ⟨sum⟩[4] hi*m* / for his hie my*ch*ty and infinit power we suld trow in him for his wisdome and verite / and we suld luf him for his

beneuolens and clemens Alsua the natu/ral wertuis of þe saule ar reulit and gouernit be thir thre things in the diuinite / for þe wertu irascible is reulit be power / þe wertu ressonable be prudence and the wertu concupiscibil be temporaunce And þus þe iustice divine / reulis ws and our saule incon/trar to þe thre innemeis of our saule / and of iustice þat ar þe waurld þe innemy and þe flesch And thir thre things power wisdome & beneuolens or clemens may be approperit to þe thre estatis of þe realme power to þe nobilite wisdome to þe clergi and clemens beneuolens and obediens to þe burgesis [309r] and commoune peple As to þe secund part in the fyrst sene our iustice and law discendis fra þe will & plesaunce of god / eftir as he schawis and manifestis his will to us / sa ar we oblist les or mar / and we haue knawlage and cognoscence of his will prin/cipaly be twa maneris / þat ar his commandis and his counsalis / for thir twa ar takynnis of þe will & plesaunce of god and spekand properly commaund is[1] it þat causis þe law and obligacioun / *quia lex dicitur a ligando i.e. obligando* / And þe iustice and obliga/cioun þat god ordanis is maist principaly on þe ressonable creaturis / þat ar *viatores* & pilgrymis in þis pur waurld / for as sais Sanct paule / *Non habemus hic ciuitatem manentem sed futuram inquirimus* And þai þat ar in eternal felicite or[2] dampnit personis ar nocht properly vnder ciuile dominacioun / na sic maner of lawis þat we ar vnder And I will in þe first declar part of termez / and first quhat is iustice humane I say þat it is a noble wertu in the mannis saule þat inclinis him to do richt to all persoune and gif ilk man þe thing þat pertenis to him waurldly iugis ar þai / þat has power and iurisdiccioun coherciue in þe police abone þe pepil / power and iurisdiccioune coherciue / is power to caus a persoune to do richt / quhepir he will or nocht / Richtsua is a thing þat dois / to ilk persoune eftir þe will / ordinat [309v] of the prince and ourman quhepir he be god or lawar & vnder him Temporale iurisdiccioun is a iurisdiccioun þat ordanis a persoune in his temporal lyffing confor/mand to þe law of natur ⟨of⟩ 'or' man Spirituale iurisdic/cioun is a iurisdiccioun þat ordanis a persoune anens his spiritual liffing conformand to þe law of god and of þe kyrk / and gif þou speris at me / *quid est lex* / quhat is law / I say þat it is a takin be þe quhilk a man may knaw þe thing þat his lord and Souuerane oblisis him to / And he

þat gevis þis takin and oblisis him is callit *legislator* and þis signe and takin þat is[1] law ordanis him tocum to þe *per*fit end / of his temporale or sp*irit*ual liffing or ellis of baith And þis signe and takin is outhir in the mynd of the p*er*soune or in the speich or ellis in writ And mony man*er*is / of law ar amang me*n* Ane natural and þis standis *in principiis moralibus* Ane vthir positiue / and ane is ciuil Ane vthir canone and baith maid and foundit be þe will / and ressoune of ma*n* / Ane vthir law is sp*irit*uale / and þis stand*is* in obligacioun of wertuis deid*is* and se*r*uice of god And gif þou sper*is* quhat thing is police / I ansuer þat it is a congre/gacioun of me*n* of p*er*soun*is* in this mortale lif þat ar ordinat to gidd*ir* be law or *com*mandme*n*t & obedie*n*s ressounable to lyff to gidd*ir* in pece and sufficience owthir in temporalite or in sp*irit*ualite And arestotill in his polithik*is* putt*is* thre man*er*is of police all [310r] gud The first is *regnu*m quhar a king gud and w*er*tuis hald*is* þe souueranite reule and gou*er*nance The secund is callit *aristocracia* / quhar few þat ar gud and w*er*tu*us* p*er*soun*is* has þe reul & gou*er*naunce The thrid is police quhar þe pepil ar gud & has þe gou*er*naunce/ / in contrar to þe first is tyra*n*/ny / in contrar to þe secund *Oligarchea* & incontrar to þe thrid *democrarchea* / and all thir thre ar euill gou*er*nyng of the pepil / bot þe best of all man*er* of police / is quhar þe king and Souueran is gud and w*er*tuus / quhar þai þat ar next[2] vnd*er* him gretast and of his counsal all gud and w*er*tuus and quhar þe multitud of þe pepill is gud and w*er*tuis And sic police ih*es*us ordanit and institut i*n* þe halikyrk / he was king paip and heid of all the kyrk / baith w*er*tuus and haly / his apostlis was w*er*tuis and haly '& sa was þe m*u*ltitud of his disciplis & ordand þ*at* þe pape þ*at* is his louete*n*nand suld be w*er*tuis & haly'[3] and þe cardinalis archibischopis & bischopis þat succed*is* in the place of þe apostlis suld be haly and w*er*tuus / And als he ordand þ*at* þe curat*is* p*er*soun*is* and vicar*is* þat succed*is* in the place of þe discipulis suld be haly and w*er*tuus Richt sua he ordand in þe cr*is*tianite / þat in ilk realme þe king suld be w*er*tuus and haly and þe princ*is* and lord*is* / þat has þe steir and gou*er*naunce vnd*er* h*im* and als all the haill pepil / and god of his grace caus*is* þis tobe in the kyrk / and in this realme *com*mittit / to þi gou*er*naunce Souuerane lord & my*ch*ti [310v] prince And to speik mar clerlie of þis mat*er* we suld wnd*er*stand

þat þe man is componit and maid of twa substaunce the tane is corporale and materiall the toþir is spirituall and immateriall / And þus the man representis all þis gret waurld maid and componit of sa mony diuers naturis / And þis is done that we may knaw / þat all creaturis ar causit / and procedis fra a caus and begynnyng And conformand to thir twa naturis that the man is componit and maid of / the man has twa maneris of lyfing in generale and twa entencounis and endis þar of / Ane is supernal and hevinly in eternite The toþir is natural and materiall in temporalite And the tane of thir maneris of lyffing and endis is or/dand for þe toþir / And a⟨l⟩s þe body is ordanit for the saule '& diuers partis & membris of þe body for diuers poweris & operacioun of þe saule'[1] Richtsua the temporal lif is ordanit for þe lif eternall and perdurable / and to bring ws to it And in the state of innocens þe man mysterit nocht dominacioun coactiue ciuil and polithik / bot the dominacioun and direccioun eftir iustice original suffis to do euirilk persoune ressoune Bot eftir þe transgressioun and inobe/diens / þat þe man committit agane god his creator þan falȝeit þe noble dominacioun and realme of þe man / And becaus he disobeyit to god be þe devin iustice vindicatiue and punytiue[2] he tynt þe dominacioun þat he had vpone his awne body And the vthir creaturis / for þan the body of the man & sensualite turnit in scisme and rebellioun agane his saule þat was be ressoune Souuerane lady mastres and gouernour [311r] of him and of þis come and cummys ȝit synnys and crymes and gret wiolens agane ressoune as reiff murthur stouth tressoune and mony vthir / And þan Enterit in the realme of the saule four gret tyrannis richt contrar to iustice and maid gret battall and discensioun / þat ar þe four passiounis ioy tristes hop and dreid / that arestotill spekis mekle of in þe secund[3] buk of rethoric and tule / *in questionibus tuscala(n)*us[4] And boece in the buk of consolacioun of philosophy and senect *in trigidiis* and virgil *in vi*to *Eneydos*[5] And þe kyrk sais in the prose *Confusa sunt hec omnia spes metus amor gaudium* / *vix hora vel dimedia fit in celo silencium* And sene eftir þe trans/gressioun of Adam ressoune was waik and sufficit nocht to gowerne the man / and all the humane ly/nage / bot in gret wiolence ane rais doand iniur agane vthir Tharfor be werray necessite war imposit and found þe lawis punytivis and panys

agane the euill wikkit and *in*iust *per*soun*is* / þat þe gud and sempil peple my*ch*t lif in pece and tranqui/lite / as sais þe kyrk law in the begy*n*nyng of the decretalis *Rex pacificus pia miseracione* And þ*is* is þe rut of sen3ory and d*omi*nacioun coherciue / þe occasioun of it was syn and transgressioun the caus finall of it is pes and tranquilite & sufficen*s* in the lif ciuil temporale and mortal to cum to þe sp*irit*uall and hevinly lif / þe caus formal [311v] is in the iust lawis ordand institut and promulgit / bot þe mat*er*iall caus of all þis ar creatur*is* ressonable mortal glori/ficable And þus I haue declarit the caus quhy / it was necessar to institut and ordand iug*is* in this pur and mortal lif / and lawis to gowerne the pepil / be iustice to refrene wiolence and to punys faut*is* and trespassis / & iustice as I haue declarit is a wertu / þat inclinis hi*m* þat has it to do to ilk p*er*soune it þat p*er*tenis be we*r*ray ressoune and equite / And it is diuidit in iustice original þat I haue spokin mekle of befor in iustice naturall / in iustice devin *euuangelisque* in iustice politik ciuill and ecc*lesi*astic / iustice politik is diuidit in iustice com*mun*icatiue be/tuix m*er*chand*is* and iustice distributiue þat p*er*tenis to iug*is* / iustice naturall insafer þat it p*er*tenis to þe ma*n* is foundit *in principiis iuris* And thir reulis of the law naturall / ar þai þat ilk ma*n* þat has wit and ressoune knawis affermys and iug*is* to be trew / as is þis proposicioun / A p*er*soune suld no*ch*t do to ane vthir/ / bot it þat he wauld he did to him / ih*es*us sais in the euuangell / and it is naturall law / *Omnia quecu*mque *vultis vt vobis faciant homines facite vos eis* Alsua thir proposicioun*is* p*er*tenis to þe law of natur A ma*n* suld luf his benefactour*is* and gud willar*is* / A ma*n* suld hono*ur* his parent*is* / A ma*n* suld sla na p*er*soune wrangwisly and mony vthir lik to thir þat was put[1] in the auld law amang þe *com*mandmen*tis* To þai p*er*tene to the law of natur / be caus þat mony has no*ch*t cler wit[2] [312r] Na wnd*er*standing naturall becaus of the corrupcioun þat þai fell in be the syn original / bot the saule of the ma*n* sen syn is lik to a buk obscur / and half blind / quia *execauit eos malicia eoru*m / *et in p*salm*o homo cum in honor*e *esset no*n *intellexit Compar*at*us* est *iumentis insipientibus et similis factus* est *illis*[3] And þus natural iustice is a wertu þat inclinis the p*er*soune þat has it to do to ilk ma*n* and p*er*soun eft*ir* the natural richt and equite And sene eft*ir* þe double nat*ur* þat þe ma*n* has

corp*or*all and sp*irit*ual he is ordanit to twa man*er*is of lyffing corp*or*al and sp*irit*ual / And þe bodely lif is ordanit to þe sp*irit*ual / as to þe maist digne and wourthi And sene þe sp*irit*ual lif of the saule and of þe p*er*soune the p*er*feccioun and end of it transcend*is* and exced*is* þe natural wit and knawlage of ma*n* / Therfor for þe saluacioun of ma*n* and his linag be w*er*ray necessite it co*n*uenit þat god reuelit to him the thing*is* p*er*tenand to þis sp*irit*ual lif / and als þe p*er*fec/cioun and end of it / for we reid eft*ir* þe syn of Ada*m* in the begy*n*nyng of the waurld Cayam & abell offert sac*ri*fic to god / and eft*ir* þame mony vthir as noye Abrahame ysac iacob / bot þis knaw/lage and s*er*uice of god was mar clerlie reuelit and declarit in the tym of moyses quhe*n* þe law was [312v] w*r*ittin and mekle mar in the cu*m*myn of ihesu and in the euuangell þat we call the new law of grace and þarfor iustice euua*n*gelic is a noble and hie wertu þat inclinis him þat has it to do all þat p*er*tenis to god & man conformand him to equite / and the verite of the euuangel / þat is þe law of god in ente*n*cioun to euade and enchew dampnacioun / and to cum to þe glor and beatitud et*er*nall And sene þe ma*n* of his natur is ciuile and poletik *vt dicit ar*istoteles *in pole*thicis / *homo est animal ciuile & poleticum*[1] And sene the ma*n* is com*mun*icatiue / and has mist*er* of mony thing*is* and of þe help and Suple *quia natura nostra est multum ancilla et plurib*us *eget primo metha*physice/[2] And þarfor þe ma*n* mist*er*is mekle þe help and Suple of vthir p*er*soun*is* Tharfor be gret wisdome is ordand þ*at* me*n* lif to gidd*ir* in com*mun*ite / and þe wertu þat dois þis and putt*is* this reule and ordinaunce amang me*n* is callit iustice ciuile and poletik / þat causis the me*n* to lif to gidd*ir* in pese in tranquilite and sufficens baith in the temp*or*all and sp*irit*ual lifing And *þar*for iustice poletik / is a wertu þat inclinis þe p*er*soun þat has it to do to ilk ma*n* / þat p*er*tenis eft*ir* the ordinaunce of police / and to cum to þe end and [313r] p*er*feccioun of it quhe*þir* it be sp*irit*ual or temporal And the law natural sufficis noc*h*t now to gouerne þe pepil in the corporale and temporale lif Thar/for þar was maid ordinan*is* and lawis be wis me*n* / for þe complet and p*er*fit gou*er*nans of þe pepill þat repu*n*gnis noc*h*t to þe law natural na folouis noc*h*t euidentlie of it / as to þe knawlage of þe se*m*pil peple / bot gevis complement and p*er*feccioun to it and to caus thir lawis tobe kepit ar institut &

ordanit Emp*rioun*is king*is* and princ*is* Alsua þe haly euua*n*gell of ih*es*u / for mony p*ar*ticular thing*is* and cais*is* þat occurr*is* in the sp*irit*ual lif and gou*er*nance of þe c*r*istin peple mon be in p*ar*ticular declarit / and myst*er*is þat w*er*tuus lawis and haly constitucioun*is* be ekit and adivnyt to it / and þir ar þe decreis and mony haly constitucioun & dec*r*etalis / þat þe halikyrk gen*er*al counsalis and haly papis has ordand / for þe gou*er*naunce of the kyrk & c*r*istin peple And the paip prelat*is* and iugis of the kyrk has power to put thir lawis and constitucioun*is* in execucioun / for the gud of the pepil / and correc/cioun of the synnar*is* / for as sais þe apostill *Po/testas data est in edificacione*m *et non in distruc/cione*m[1] ih*es*us has ordand his s*er*uaund*is*[2] to big eik and augme*n*t þe kyrk and no*ch*t to distroy it / the noble ciuil law is a signe and takin / þat [313v] schawis a ma*n* how he is oblist to c*er*tane thing*is* be the ressoune iugeme*n*t and will of þe souueran þe law of god and of natur ar vnmouable & indispensable ane*n*s ony p*er*soune excep god þat may do of his creatur quhat he emplesis / bot the law ciuil or canon may be int*er*pret & dispe*n*sit be the prince and Souuerane / be prudence and a w*er*tu that is callit *Ephekea* / þat arestotil spek*is* of / and þat is quhe*n* werray ressoune & eq*ui*te repu*n*gnis to þe wourd*is* of the law and thir power*is* and d*omi*naciou*n*is has iurisdiccioun and execucioun on the pepil conforme to þe law dyvin natural canon and ciuil / and as in a natural body of a ma*n* / þar is a heid and twa armes and the heid stand*is* richt betuix þe schuld*er*is and the armes Richtsua ih*es*us in his humanite is hed of baith þe iurisdicciou*n*is[3] sp*irit*ual and temporale and þe sp*irit*ual iurisdiccioun is þe richt syd and þe temporal þe to*þir* And ry*ch*tsua all iug*is* sp*irit*ual and temporal suld iuge richt betuix the partes þat comperis befor þame *Nec declina*n*do ad dextram nec ad sinistram*/[4] and iustice is helpit and put in execucioun / be the help & suple of thir noble scist*er*is þe hevinly w*er*tuis þat ar prudens beneuole*n*s verite constaunce fors and temporaunce / and vthir sindry / as fait*h* [314r] hop and cherite / In this thrid p*ar*t I will declar p*ar*t of signis and taky*n*nis of þam þat lufis iustice *diligite iusticiam qui iudicat*is *terram*[5] And I will now declar thre / conformand to þe thre h*ab*itud*is* / þat iustice has and inclinis the iuge to obs*er*ue and keip the first ane*n*s god his creator the secund ane*n*s his king prince or lord / and the

thrid anens his self / and as to þe first quhen þe iuge lufis god / and his law and obeyis to it / þan is a gret takin þat he is iust sene god is þe werray exemplar and original fontane of iustice / for þou may weill wnderstand þat a persoune can nocht be iust[1] to ony vthir quhen he is iniust to god his creator redemptor / & souuerane lord And be this maner the noble Empriour constan/tyn provit þame of his court quha was wourthi to serue hym / eftir his conuersioun / and said þat þai þat wauld folow þe law of ihesu / suld part fra him / and þai þat wauld forsaik and deny it suld be tendir seruaundis to him / and þis he did to tempe þame incontrar to his entencioun and mynd / bot eftir his conuersioun fra infidelite he was ardent in the seruice of ihesu / *Et ad huc committebat illud mendacium officiosum forte non cognoscens omnia puncta nostre religionis*/[2] And mony turnit fra the faith of ihesu / bot vthir remanit in it / and partit fra him / And þan he callit þame [314v] þat kepit the faith of ihesu and maid þame tendir seruaundis to him / and þe laif þat denyit his faith he put fra him / And said þat sene þai war tra/touris to god and falsly had brokin þar faith þat he wauld nocht traist in þame na hauld þame for his tendir seruaundis / And of þis first takin befor tauld / is na merwell for he þat lufis þe king he lufis his law and kepis it / and lufis his tendir seruaundis / and he þat lufis god lufis his law / and gud seruaundis his religioun and haly spous þe kyrk ihesus sais / *qui*[3] *diligit me sermones meos seruabit et pater meus diligit eum & ad eum venie/mus et mansionem apud eum faciemus et iterum / qui ex deo est / verbum dei audit propterea vos non auditis quia ex deo non estis* The secund signe and takin that a iuge lufis iustice / is quhen he lufis his king prince or lord lauborand for þe conser/ua/cioun and augmentacioun of his senȝery & lord/schip be wertuis operacioun kepand and conseruand his pepil in pece and quiete And of þis tretis arestotil in þe v buk of polethikis And þe principal doctrine is / þat in all his iugementis / þat he laubour for the vnioun and common gud of the peple and of the prince and þat he wse na flattry nor adulacioun / for doand sua he conseruis þe [315r] prince þat he sall nocht in tyranny / þat is þe wen/noune and distruccioun of þe realme / and al gud police / And þe iuge suld nocht fauour mar a persone na ane vthir riche na pur The thrid signe and takin is / þat þe iuge luf him self /

submittand him to iustice and ressoune / for he þat is iniust to hi*m* self and euill he is no*ch*t abil to be iust to ony vthir for þe law of god sais þat cherite / *Incipit a se* þat is þat þe ma*n* suld luf him self vnd*er* god best And arestotil declar*is* in the viii buk of the Ethik*is* þat ane wnrichtwis ma*n* lufis no*ch*t his self / for he folouis syn / and submitt*is* þe maist noble p*ar*t þat is ressoune to þe part sensatiue *Et homo e*st *princ*ipali*t*er *intellectus et anima* And þus he dois agane resson and conformand to þat sais þe halysc*ri*pt*ur* and prophet *Qui diligit iniquitate*m *odit anima*m *sua*m This cheptur is lang in wourd*is* gretar i*n* sente*n*s and foundame*n*t of all that folowis *etc.*

[315v] In this folowand chept*ur* I will declar diu*er*s / man*er*is of liffing of realmes and mony thing*is* p*er*tenand to þe king prince and realme for þe gud regime*n*t & gou*er*naunce of þame

Eftyr[1] the doctrine of clerk*is*[2] of gret philosophour*is* legist*is* and theologis I find þat þar is *triplex vita hominis vna carnalis alia ciuilis et poletica et 3ª spiritualis* / The fyrst is bodely lif of the ma*n* that is causit of the *con*iu*n*ccioun of the saule w[t] the body *genesis 2°* / *factus* est *homo in animam viuentem* / and þis lif is oftymes mise/rable *q*uia *ecclesiast*icus *deci*mo / *hodie rex et cras morit*ur Thar is ane vthir lif ciuil and polethik and þis is causit be the vnioun and *con*iu*n*ccioun of þe king or prince w[t] the pepil in a law & ordina/cioun of gud police / and of þis sais arestotill in his polethik*is* / þat þe lif of þe cite or realme is in gud lawis and ordinaunce And the apostle [316r] *ad romanos xii°* / *ad ephes*ios *iiii°* Comperis the weill reulit com*mun*ite to þe natural body of the ma*n* *Comparat corpus misticum ad verum corpus* and þis lif is mar ⟨p*ar*t⟩ p*er*manen*t* na the first *q*uia *deriuatur* þ*er* *successionem legittimam regalis prolis*[3] for þo*ch*t a king or prince de / his awne barne þat represent*is* him succed*is* in his place and þis lif is bett*ir* na the first / for the *com*mone gud þat lest*is* lang is mar worthi and digne na is the p*ar*ticular of a p*er*sone Alsua we se þat þe king or prince exponis his corporal lif / for the defence of þis lif ciuile and polethic The thrid lif is sp*irit*ual causit throu grace and be vnioun of god w[t] the saule be cherite / and of þis spek*is* the apostle / *ad galatas 2° viuo ego iam non ego viuit vero in me cristus* / and þis is þe best lif of all for þe top*ir* twa w[t]out this proffit*is* no*ch*t to þe p*er*soune *mathei xvi° marci viii° et luce x° quid prodest homine si vniuersum mundum lucretur anime vero sue de(t)rimentum*[4] *paciatur* / And conformand to thir thre lifis þair is thre man*er*is of regne of king*is* and realmes *Primum est personale 2m est temporale et tercium spirituale* in the first realme a ma*n* is

weill ordinat and reulit in his awne persoune / and anens all vthir creatur / for and he gouerne him weill he is a king in þe reulyn of his body and his passiounis as sais the euuangell *regnum dei intra vos est* The secund is quhen þe pepil is weill reulit |316v| and gouernit in wertuus police be be the autorite of þe prince The thrid realme is þe halikyrk / and þai þat has þe gouernans of it / and suld defend and expon the faith of ihesu / has regne and dominacioun in it *p(rimo)*[1] *petri 3°* / *vos estis genus electum regale sacerdo/cium gens sancta etc.* And thir thre regnis & real/mes war figurit quhen þe thre kingis of þe orient offerit to ihesu thre oblaciounis / be the myr is figurit and signifyit þe first realm / for as it defendis þe persoune fra putrifaccioun sa dois þe wertu the man fra spiritual filth of syn The gold þat þe secund king offerit figuris and signifyis þe secund realme for as þe gold suppleis þe indigence of man Rychtsua þe wertuus king in his realme causis be his wisdom lawis and wertu / þat his pepil lif in pece and tranquilite w[t] sufficiens / bot þe sens þat we wse in the seruice of god figuris and signifyis þe thrid realme of þe kyrk / þat is ordand principaly for þe seruice of god And of the secund realme I will now speik mast principaly and gif certane doctrin proffitable The fyrst is þat in a realme suld be bot a king or prince souuerane / for as god þat is bot ane / be his hevinly wisdome gouernis the waurld and all his creaturis / richtsua in þe realme suld be bot a king / þat be his power |317r| wisdome and clemens suld gouerne / all his pepil / and þarfor sais þe gret clerk arestotil *in xii°* *methaphisice Encia nolunt male disponi pluralitas principatuum mala / vnus ergo princeps* And as we se þat in the man is bot a saule / þat has þe gouernans of all the partis and operaciounis of the man / þat ar mony and diuers Richtsua in a realme suld be bot a king þat suld haue þe regimen and gouernans / and quhen þar is nocht vnite in the realme bot diuisioun þan cummys the tinsal and distruccioun of þe realme for as sais þe euuangell *Omne*[2] *regnum in se diuisum desolabitur* / and sa was eftir þe deid of Alexander quhen the realme was diuidit in mony partis / þan com mekle euill and truble / as is writtin in the buk of the machabeis *Tunc mala multiplicati sunt in terra* And lucan the poet sais *Nulla fides regni sociis omnisque potestas inpaciens Consortis erit* / and quhen þar is diuisioun in the realme amang þe princis or lordis /

þan cu*m*mys þe distruccioun and ruyne of it *p*salmus / *effusa est contencio*[1] *inter principes et errare fecit eos in inuio et non in via* And orace the poet / sais / *Quicquid del(i)rant*[2] *reges plectuntur*[3] *achiui* he sais þat quhe*n* þe princ*is* or lord*is* ar at di*ui*/sioun þan þe pepil sustenis gret trouble and wexacioun / and sene we se þat thevis and euill me*n* vnis þame to gidd*ir* for þe wy*n*nyng of gud [317v] and the innemeis of heill / at ar vnit agane ws for our distruccioun / þe princ*is* and lord*is* suld gretlie vne þame to gidd*ir* for þe gud of þe haill pepil and of þame self / *quia vt dicit salustius in cathelenario Concordia parue res crescunt discordia vero maxime delabuntur* / We reid þat þe trone of king salamon þat signifiit þe souuerane power rial was sustenit *duobus brachiis a dextris et a s(i)nistris*[4] Thar was twa armez þat sustenit it / on þe richt syd and on þe left / þat ar þe nobilite / and the peple þat ar vnd*er* þe power and au*tor*ite rial and sustenis it / bot þe clergi is the sicht and licht of knawlage þat suld illu*m*ine all the realme / and as we se þat in a tovne or castell / þat is strat/lie kepit þar is a ma*n* in a hie place / þat quhe*n* he seis ony apperand pe*r*ell he sound*is* and rengis[5] a bell to warne the pepill / Sa suld þe kyrkma*n* and clergi be euir wakand for þe hono*ur* and proffit of the king and of þe haill peple / þe auld storiis sais þat palladiu*m* þat was þe ymag*e* of the goddes pallas þat was goddes of wisdome was in the tovne of troy / and was þe principal protecciou*n* and keping of it / and als lang as it was in troy / þe tovne my*ch*t no*ch*t be wone / and þis is poesye / and signifyis þat als lang as þe wis me*n* be þar wisdome gou*er*nit the tovne [318r] of troy it my*ch*t no*ch*t be wone[6] / for þar wisdome was þe ymag of pallas þat is goddes of wisdome eft*ir* the poet*is* / bot quhe*n* þai tynt the palladiu*m* þat was wisdome / and þe grek*is* gat it þan þai tynt þar tovne / and þe grek*is* war maste*r*is to þame Richtsua als lang as þe merour of virgile was in rome the tovne and empyr was weill kepit / þat menys als lang as þe romanis be þar wisdome gou*er*nit and saw be þar prudens the thing*is* tocum as in a mero*ur* sa lang stud in hono*ur* and triumphe þe gret empyr of rome / and sa is Souuerane lord in all realme & cite And as we se þat þe natural & bodely lif of þe ma*n* stand*is* in þe evin equale and ry*ch*t propor/cioun of þe four humor*is* and first qualiteis at ar heit cauld drouth and humedite Richtsua þe lif ciuile and polethic conscistis in the

proporcioun of þe four cardinal vertuis And þarfor þe heid of the realme and pepil / þat is þe king suld be gretlie decorit and anournyt w^t^ thir four wertuis / he suld be prudent / and sene prudens is þe licht / and has þe gouernaunce of all þe laif of þe wertuis / þe king þat has þe haill steir of þe realme and the peple suld be gretlie ornat w^t^ it / the prince be his discrecioun suld se and awis before / quhat thing is tocum / and ordand þe wayis conuenient / þarfor / [318v] for as sais þe noble and wis Empriour of rome Sci/pio affrican it is schame to a prince to say / eftir þat a thing is cummyn euill / þat he trowit þat it suld haue cummyn ane vthir way / And þe king & prince suld haue him sua baith in his wourd and ded þat þe verite may be clerlie tauld to him for his honour and þe proffit of the pepil / he suld nocht be of þai þat sais / *dicite nobis placencia* / for þan he is abill to be tynt *in corpore et anima* / for as is writtin *prouerbiorum xxix° Princeps qui libenter audit verba mendacii omnes ministros habet impios* Alsua the prince throu his prudens suld be reddy and ask counsal to heir / it and to kep / it sacret / and suld haue wertu and prudens to discerne / be/tuix[1] gud counsal and euill / and þe counsal suld be tane w^t^ maturite and grauite / bot þe exe/cucioun of it suld be sone maid for as sais salust *Priusquam incipias consulto et vbi consulueris mature facto opus est* / the mynd of þe prince and of his counsalouris suld be w^t^out passioun of affec/cioun or hatrent / for as sais iulius cesar *Omnes homines qui de rebus dubiis consultant ab ira odio amicicia et ceteris animi passionibus vacuos esse decet*[2] for thir passiounis puttis impediment to counsal [319r] or to say þe verite / we reid in the buk of þe noble and haly quene hester þat / Assuerus *qui erat axtax/artes* had vii wisest counsalouris þat he couth get and gouernit all gret materis be the counsal of þaim as did his predecessouris befor him And omer the gret poet of grece sais þat þe sone gouernis þe waurld be the counsal of þe xii[3] signis / and ouid þe poet sais *in secundo methamorposeos* / þat quhen the sone left his counsal / and grauntit his sone phiton to reule his char a day / for faut of knawlage his sone couth nocht gowerne þe hors na þe char and þan þe hors drew þe chayr out of þe rycht gait and brint a part of hevin callit galacia / and eftir þe cart of fyr come sa neir þe Erd þat it consumyt þe humedite / of þame of ethiop ind / *et de gente maurorum* / and has maid þame all blak /

*q*uia *calidu*m *agens in humidu*m *causat nigredine*m And phitone led þe cart and chair of þe sone hier na his fad*er* that signifyis that þe king or prince at vsis prid and elacioun distroyis mekle of his realme / And at þe cart discendit sa fer / at it brynt þe Erd and causit the ethiops and me*n* of Inde to be blak / for þe ardent heit þat signifyis þat quhe*n* þe prince is full of ire and crabitnes w*t*out ressoune he hurt*is* gretlie his realme and peple / And eft*ir* this 3oung [319v] child and wantoune phitone *filius solis* was perist for his inprudence as sais þe poet*is* / and all þis is doctrine prude*n*cial / þat nane is wourthi to gowern the realme or pepill w*t*out the wertu of prudens And sene þe realme is gret and in it is gret multitud of pepil / þe king and prince suld haue gret wit and foundame*n*t of law and police / þat I haue spokin of in þe precedent chept*ur* / and þe we*r*tuis in his p*er*soune / þat I haue ne*m*myt heir / þat ar prudence strenth iustice and temporaunce And þoc*h*t þe king or prince be wis in his self / 3it richt proffitable is þat he wse wis counsal / for as sais salamon *ibi salus vbi multa consilia* And gif þe pr*i*nce miste*r*is help and suple in the gou*er*naunce of his pepil he suld cheis him counsalour*is* þat dred*is* god / þat has gud consci*e*ns / and lufis þe *com*mon proffit / þat has knawlag*e* sciens and hardines to expone þame to þe p*er*ell / for his luf & s*er*uice and þe gud of þe haill pepil And sene in the cheptur precedent I haue spokin mekle of iustice and in this cheptur of prudens Now will I speik in this folowand chept*ur* of þe wertu of strenth and temporaunce *etc*.

[320r] This folowand cheptur sal declar / quhow necessar and proffitable is to a king and prince / to haue the noble wertuis of strenth & of temporaunce and luf of his pepil causand pes

The[1] gret philosophour and clerk arestotil / in his ethikis and werk of morale vertuis sais / þat þe wertuis man suld be / *sicut tetragonus sine vituperio* / and þat pertenis maist to a king and prince / he sais þat as þe dise / quhen it is castin fra a man / it can nocht fall bot on four nukis / quhat kynch þat euir it haue / rycht/sua is of a wertuis man quhat euir cum prosperite or aduersite / he takis all weill / and movis him nocht / bot reulis him be wertu / And þarfor the king and prince suld sit in þe trone of constaunce and fortitud / and suld nocht move him for gret or small / bot stand ferme as ane angel in the trone seit and place of iustice þsalmus *iusticia et iudicium* [320v] *correccio sedis eius* The king suld luf his pepil as þe fader his barnis / for as arestotil þe clerk in the viii buk of the ethikis declaris / *quod dominium regale est sicut patris ad filium* he sais þat þe king suld luf his pepil / as þe fader þe sone And þe gret Empriour octoviane þat succedit to iulius cesar þat ihesus our saluatour was borne vnder *Exiit edictum ab augusto cesare vt discr(i)beretur*[2] *orbis vniuersus* / quhen mony names of gret honour and dignite war offerit to him for his gud and noble regiment / he chesit þe name þat he suld be callit *pater patrie* / as writtis *titus liuius* and the storeis of rome and þe wis poet Omer of grece callis þe gret and wertuus king agamemnon þat distroyit troy and wane gret honour to all þe land & Empyr of grece / *Pastorem populi* And our all this god our creator and redemptor ordanis / þat we call him our fader and pastor And of this folouis þat þe king suld haue piete and mercy of his pepil sene þai ar his and committit to his gouer/naunce and regimen as þe barne to þe fader and þarfor sais þe poet virgil of Eneas / *primo eneidos Rex erat eneas nobis quo iustior alter Nec pietate fuit nec*

bello maior aut armis And þe halyscriptur sais *Misericordia et veritas custodiunt regem* [321r] *Et roboratur clemencia tronus eius* And in this noble condicioun the king þat is louetennand of god folouis him / and to þis purpos said þe gret oratur of grece demostenes in a noble proposi/cioun / þat he maid befor Alexander king of macedonis *Rex nichil habes maius quam ut posses aut melius quam vt velis parcere quam pluribus* And þis maner of speking vsit tule þe gret oratur of rome / befor þe gret Empriour / iulius Cesar The thrid thing þat the king suld do to his peple is þat he suld defend þame fra all oppressioun baith in þe realme be iustice and fortitud and vtouth and agane þar innemeis be strenth and fortitud and vtouth and ⟨agane innemeis⟩/ / conformand to þis sais virgil þe poet *in eneydos* / neir the end *Tu regere imperio populos romane memento hae tibi artes erunt pacisque inponere morem parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* And orace þe poet sais *Rem gerere et captos ostendere ciuibus hostes attingit solium iouis* Alsua tempo/raunce is richt necessar and conuenient to all king & prince / for and a prince be nocht temporat in him self bot lat passiounis regne and haue dominacioun in him he can nocht reule him self na the realme and þe multitud of pepil committit to him And the prince or persoune þat wil wse temporaunce perfitlie suld wse prudens in keping of mony things / and principaly [321v] he suld keip four portis and passagis in the first in Eris / þat na fals adulacioun enter be þame for quhen adulacioun has place in the Eris of þe prince it slais his saule be tressoune it causis presumpcioun it causis þat he gif his hert and luf to euill peple / and haue gud and wertuus pepil in hatrent / it causis þe wnworthi persounis to be Erekkit and liftit to gret dignitеis it slais and distroyis þe mast noble counsalour of þe king dame verite as was manifest in achab *rege israel* in ⟨nag⟩ nabugodonosar *et* olifer/ne in herode / And mony vthir thousand / The secund passage / þat he suld keip is the Ene and sicht / he suld nocht thole þe foly luf of lichory to enter in him be that port be wantoune and dissolute luking / for þat causis þe will & liberte of the man / fall fra þe hie trone of ressoune & submyt it to wnworthi gouernouris / þat ar þe passiounis and sinister affeccionis of þe sensuall appetit / for we knaw be noble storeis / þat sic blind and daft luf / þat paris and elena had to giddir distroyit

þe noble tovne of troye it expellit tarqwyn / and all his blud riall out of rome / for þe inordinat luf of his sone [322r] anens the noble lady lucres / be it dalida causit þe distruccioun of sampsone þe luf of bersabe causit þe gret syn of dauid þe prophet / it causit þe fallin of wys salamon / it causit þe flud of noye þe distruccioun of þe v noble citeis and land þat was *pentopolis & altera paradisus terrestris* of þe quhilk was sodome and gomor / and for þe oppressioun of a lady as sais þe scriptur / it causit þe slauchtir of lx thou/sand men / it was þe caus of þe distruccioun of *anthonius* and cleopatra / it causit þe dis/truccioun of sichen *propter di(n)am*[1] and of mony vthir thousand in tym passit / and is able ȝit in tyme tocum to do þe same / Alsua he suld clos the thrid passage of the mouth þat na lesing na falsheid pas be it na mansuering And our all þis þe noble prince suld tendirlie keip the port of his hert / þat þe horrible wice of ambi/cioun enter nocht in it / for he þat admittis that tyrane / king noble / or kyrkman is led throw sey / throu land to expone him to all maner of peralis / ambicioun distroyit þe noble angell lucifer / þat god creat in sa hie estat / and his fallouis Ambicioun was þe caus þat 'þe' gret king [322v] nabugodonosar was put to þe feild and eit þe gers and hay / as dois þe best as tellis þe haly scriptur / Ambicioun was the caus of þe gret and peralus battale betuix Cesar and pompeus / Ambicioun was þe caus þat herold slew þe innocentis trowand to sla ihesu þe sone of god / and syn slew his awn sonnis as schawis iosaphus Alsua the king & prince starkis him gretlie in his realme quhen he gettis þe luf and fauour of his pepil in comperisone of him þat þe pepil hatis for as sais / *Tirencius comicus errat longe meo quidem iudicio qui imperium fir/mius aut stabilius esse putat vi / quod fit quam illud quod amicicia adiungitur & macrobius in saturnalibus* sais / *de iulio cesare et suetonius* in the first buk of the xii empriouris þat þe maist thing þat helpit ⟨ihi⟩ iulius cesar to subiek þe gret naciounis and partis of the waurld and get þe Empyr was þe gret luf þat he had and schew to his peple and men of wer And richtsua was of all noble Empriouris þat come to honour / and I may proue be werray ressoune / þat a realme may nocht be gouernit w'out luf we se þat in the persoune of a man and þe partis and membris war contrar ane to ane vthir / as and þe handis wauld[2] [323r] distroy the Ene and gif the feit wauld

gar the body fall / and gif þe hart wauld no*ch*t help þe vthir me*m*bris w[t] natural heit þe p*er*soune my*ch*t no*ch*t Endur Richtsua in the temporal realme and þe nobillis and me*n* of wer / þat ar comperit to þe hand*is* and armes of the me*n* wauld distroy þe clergi þat is þe Ene and licht of þe realme and þe me*r*/chand*is* and laubora*r*is þat ar þe sicht[1] of þe realme it my*ch*t no*ch*t Endur bot in *con*tine*n*t of þat behovit to folow þar awne distruccioun as was quhe*n* þe me*m*bris of þe body þat tuk gret laubour conspirit agane þe wame / þat þai said maid na laubour bot tuk the plesaunce and concludit to gif it na meit na nurising / and sone eft*ir* / þe wame perist & all the laif of þe me*m*bris to gidd*ir* as w*r*itt*is* *titus* *liuius* þe gret historiane of rome in a fair proposi/cioun quhar pes was maid *int*er *pr*incip*es* *nobiles* *et* *populum* *ro*man*u*m And þarfor þe police ordanis þat ilk p*ar*t and me*m*ber of þe realme / suld help vthir / þe pepil[2] suld laubo*u*r and gif to þe king & noblis / þat þai lif / and laubor*is* vnd*er* / þar maill se*r*uice hono*u*r and subiecciou / And the king & lordis suld defend the pepil / and þis luf þat þe noble king and prince has to his pepil / has four noble douchte*r*is / þat ar excellent w*er*tuis þat kepis [323v] the prince in gret securite / þe fyrst has þe name of his mod*er* / and is callit luf / for senec þe gret moral clerk sais *Si vis amari ama* / for and the king or prince luf his pepill his p*ep*le lufis hi*m* and gif he ber*is* hatrent agane the peple / the pepil lufis him no*ch*t The secund wertu is securite for and the prince luf his pepil his noblis clerg*is* burgess*is* and laubora*r*is þai luf him and þan he is sur þat nane may noy nor wincus him And the tyraunt*is* þat hat*is* þar pepil ar hatit w[t] the pepil / and þai ar in mar p*er*ell ama*n*g þar pepil na amang strangear*is* And mony of þame has bene wndovne be þar pepil i*n* Athenis in rome and mony vthir plac*is* The thrid lady douchte*r* and wertu is merci and clemen*s* þat kepis principaly þe *com*mand of hir mod*er* þat is the *com*mand of iustice / for salamon sais *Clemencia roboratur tronus eius i.e. regis* / For it is no*ch*t weill possible / bot the prince þat lufis þe peple haue compaciens of the adu*er*site and t*ri*bulacioun of the pepil / The ferd is liberalite þat inclinis the prince be wertu to gif *q*uando *o*portet *vbi* oportet & *sicut* oportet *et* *eciam* *quibus* oportet / and in the king suld be liberalite and magnificen*s* *q*uia *liberalitas* *mag*/*nos* *viros* *charos* *facit* And *tulius* þe orator sais [324r] *Nichil* *laudabilius* *q*uam

*contempner*e *pecuniam si non habes / Si autem habeas eam ad magnificenciam liberalitate*mque *trahere* And to þe king p*er*tenis richt gretlie to induce and cons*er*ue pes in his realme amang his pepil / for as sais þe poet*is* quhe*n* þe goddis mars & *neptun*us / wauld haue gevi*n* þe name to þe noble cite of athenis / and on þe topi*r* pa*r*t the noble pallas lady and mastres of scie*n*s as maist digne contendit to gif þe name to it sene in it was þe flour ⟨and⟩ 'of' study and scie*n*s þan Co*n*uenit þai / that quhilk of þame be þar operacioun mycht caus or produce a thing maist proffitable to þe peple / þat þe hono*ur* of the name of þat noble cite suld p*er*tene to him or hir And incontine*n*t the goddes pallas producit and gart wp spring a fair Oliue tre / in takin of pes / for quhe*n* pes is in the realme / all thing growis weill And mars þe god of battale producit a hors in takin of battall / and pes was iugit bett*ir* na wer / or battal / and þarfor þe goddes pallas / had þe hono*ur* and gaf þe name to þe cite / for na thing is in a cite or realme at wisdome or scie*n*s / haue þe steir and reule for be þame is put away all trouble / and intr*o*ducit pes / *q*uia *finis bellorum* e*st pax et finis* e*st melior hiis que sunt ad fine*m / And arestotil [324v] sais *Negociamur vt ociemur bella gerimus vt in pace degamus* / The gret doctour sanct augustyn expo/nand þis wourd / *Pax sup*er *israell* sais / *q*uod *pax est omne*[1] *bonu*m / *et p*er *oppositum bellu*m *est omne*[2] *malu*m / all gud and proffit growis be pece / And truble & adu*er*site throu battale And ataxarses þe gret and my*ch*ty king *Aliter assuerus no*m*ine in 13*[m] *c.* / of hest*er* sais þat he wauld no*ch*t abuse his power bot wauld þat his peple lyfit in pes / þat all w*er*tuus pepil gretlie desir*is* & lufis And ih*es*us sais in the euuangell *Beati pacifici q*uoni*am filii dei vocabuntur* / the peceable peple ar so*n*nis and doch*ter*is of god And the hevinly angell / in the haly and blissit natiuite of ih*es*u sang *Et in terra pax homin*i*bus bone voluntat*is *p*salmus *inquire pacem et perseque*r*e eam* And mony diu*er*s ressoun*is* and moti*u*is suld induce king*is* princ*is* and all maner of pepil to pes / in the first þe glorius passioun of ihesu that he tholit to mak pes betuix god and man a*n*gel and ma*n* The secund thing is the gret misere of þis pur lif / in the comp*er*isone of þe ioy et*er*nal þat we ar ordanit to / And þarfor we suld euade and enschew all weir and battal / for all þat we haue heir is bot sorow and trouble excep þe hevinly gift*is* of ihesu

The thrid thing þat suld induce ws to þes is the gret skaith that þe king þe haill lord*is* [325r] and pepil incurr*is* throw battale and wer and þe gret co*m*moditeis þat cu*m*mys be pes & quiete / The feird is þat in the tyme of pece þe se*r*uice of god is kepit in gret honou*r* and all the pepil in liberte / and þe lawis and haly constitucioun*is* ar put i*n* execu/cioun And discendand mar p*ar*ticulary / I fynd xii gret proffit*is* vtiliteis *com*moditeis of pes / in þe first for þe honou*r* of god / pes is richt proffitable / for to caus pes / and prech it / þe sone of god ih*es*us tuk our humanite it is richt plesaund to þe haly angell*is* of paradice / þat in þe birth of ih*es*u sang þe hevi*n*ly sang of pes in a gret multitude *Et facta est cum angelo multitudo celestis exercitus canencium gloria in altissimis deo Et in terra* ⟨*etc.*⟩ *pax hominibus bone voluntatis* And for caus þe lady and virgin mod*er* of ih*es*u was in ⟨a⟩ 'gret' p*ar*t mediat*r*ix and helpar of this pes / sche is queyne and lady souuerane of pes & þe prophet sais of hir / *gloriosa dicta sunt de te ciuitas dei* / And all the haill court of paradice lyfis now in p*er*fit pes w^{t}out dreid or terrour as sais 3acharias *vt sine timore de manu inimicorum nostrorum liberati seruiamus illi* Pes is gret confusioun to the innemy of hell for þar is na thing þat he p*r*ocur*is* and laubor*is* mar for / na for hatrent scisme battall and diuisioun / for induceand the me*n* to vthir sy*n*nis [325v] he wincus ane or two bot be battale & diuisioun he gett*is* in his net and se*r*uice a cite a province a gret realme or Empyr and *com*movis a gret peple in mortale hatrent agane ane vthir Alsua he knawis þat me*n* dois pe*n*naunce eft*ir* þar syn and ar saif þar throw / bot oft tymes in battal suddand ded prevenis þe pe*n*naunce / þat þe p*er*soune wauld do her he knawis alsua þat þar is a maist na man*er* of syn or iniquite / bot it is co*m*mittit in wer & battal and principaly quhe*n* it is co*m*mittit agane þe c*r*istin peple þar is distruccioun of the noblis spoliacioun & oppres/sioun of þe pur / violacioun of virginis and haly ladeis *con*iunyt in mariage and thir thing*is* and mony vthir that cu*m*mys be battale and weir displesis gretlie þe haly angellis of paradice Pes is proffitable to þe haly saulis in purgator for þe weir & battale causis þat litle prayer is done for þame / bot quhar befor was prayer and benedicciou*n* þa*n* ar maledicciones / quhar þar was in pes devin se*r*uice / in wer*is* þe kyrk*is* ar spul3eit and distroyit quhar forow was alm*us* deid / in

weir is reif quhar befor was fasting and abstinence / in weir haboundis glutony drunkynnes and lichory / pes is proffitable for [326r] þame þat ar dampnit in hell / nocht for þar deliuer/ans / for þai sal neuir be deliuerit na for þar consolacioun / bot it causis þat þe accidentale pane of þame be nocht sa gret / *Sicut fuit de malo diuite que timuit de quinque fratribus ne venirent ad infer/num*/[1] for as þe accidental blithnes of þe saulis of paradice incressis for þe gud and merit of the gud pepil that lifis in the waurld / Richtsua the payne of the dampnit saulis is ekit for the synnis and dimeritis of the euill pepil þat þai war caus & occasioun of Alsua pes is proffitable for the fortifica/cioun of the king and his power riall / for quhen þar is diuisioun in the realme / his power and strenth is þe les Pes is proffitable to þe noblis and men of wer / for in battale baith þar body & saule is in perell Alsua pes is proffitable to þe clergi / for the seruice of god is nocht done sa weill in weir as in þe tyme of pece / for in weir þe kyrkis ar left and fallis in ⟨Ry⟩ ruyne / And oftymes þe religioun is wiolat and distroyit/ / lang befor þis þe gret and noble kyrkis war biggit of þe oblacioun of the pepill / bot now þai fall in Ruyne for þe exaccioun þat ar maid one the pepil / quia *principes vt dicit scriptura cogitant cogitaciones afflicciones et non pacis* / þe pes is proffitable for þe defens of þe pepil / for þan þe realme is in strenth & vnite [326v] The pes is proffitable agane þe infidelis / for it vnis the cristin pepil and makis þame stark / and alsua it is gud agane the innemeis of the realme And in the tym of pes mony noble confideracioun / may be maid w[t] þe vthir pepil / for þe gud of þe prince and realme And þe strang naciounis ar mar inclinit þarto / quhen þai se þe prince and realme in pes na and þai war in wer or aduersite / and as I said befor / it suld gretlie induce the cristin princis and pepil to pes þat ihesus did samekle to put pes betuix god and man / for as sais the scriptur / *disciplina pacis eius super nos attritus est propter scelera nostra*[2]

In this followand cheptur I will gif mony / & diuers doctrine proffitable to kingis princis and to þar pepill schawand quhat thing is conuenient & proffi/table to þame / & quhat disconuenient & repugnaunt *etc.*

[327r] And[1] Sene We See in the Persoune/[2] of the man and natural bodely lif / all the membris exponis þame for þe honour and gud of the heid / and help & defence of it as handis armes & vthir / quhen þe heid is in perell Richtsua suld it be in the realme / *& corpore mistico*/[3] for the pepil is oblist to honour and defend þar prince þe pepill and all þe subdittis aw to þe king and Souuerane lord fidelite laute seruice and subside And þe king is oblist to þe peple to kepe þame in iustice and in þar defence / for as we se þat þe heid in þe natural body / be wit ledis and gouernis the vthir membris And it may nocht indur wᵗout þe laif of the membris Richtsua the king wᵗout his peple may nocht indur And betuix þe king and his pepill is double obligacioun of aþir syd for a gudnes requiris ane vthir / and þar for þai ⟨ar⟩ Err gretlie þat trowis þat in na thing þe king is oblist to his pepil for þe mar & hear þat þe dominacioun be abone the peple vnder god þe mar is the lord and prince oblist to god / and to þe regimen of the pepil / and 'for' þar þe paip þat is hiest is callit / *seruus seruorum dei* / and sanct gregor sais / *Cum enim augentur dona raciones eciam crescunt donorum tanto* ergo *esse humilior* [327v] *atque ad seruiendum deo prompcior quisque debet esse ex munere quanto se obligaciorem*[4] *esse conspicit in reddenda racione*/[5] we reid þat þe gret and noble Empriour of rome ⟨tria⟩ *traianus* quhen he was on hors passand 'to battel' for þe romanis A pur woman com to him cryand lamentabli / þou 'art' Empriour and heid of þe iustice / and I thole sic hevy iniur and wrang that my sone is wrangwisly slane / þan remanit stil on his hors þe noble Empriour and said humely wᵗ pete to þe woman / þat returnand fra þe bat/tale he suld do hir iustice þan said þe woman Empriour and

king / þou art mortale and passis[1] to þe battal and þou cum nocht agane quha sall do me iustice of þis wrang The noble Empriour ansuerit / þat his successour suld do hir iustice in þat cais / þan said þe woman / þou Empriour and iuge in þi tyme / þou aw to do me iustice / and gif þou leffis it / þi successour sal nocht quyt þe / and þou leif it wndone / And þan discendit fra his hors þe noble Empriour and examinit þe caus and ministerit iustice and gaf consolacioun to þe pur lady And þis Empriour traiane was a pagane / And for þis noble werk of iustice / þe pepil of rome hono/rit þis Empriour & Erekkit *statuam in honorem* [328r] *eius in foro publico etc.*/[2] And lang tyme eftir þat he deit þe haly pap Sanct gregor come and saw þis ymage ⟨Ek⟩ Erekkit for þe honour of traiane and had piete of him and prayit for him and at his prayer god of his mercy savit traiane And part of gret doctouris in diuinite and clerkis sais þat lucifer synnit in this / þat he wauld haue regnit & had domina/cioun and power abone þe laif of þe creaturis w'out þat he had bene oblist to þar help keping or gouernaunce / or to do ony seruice to þame and þis was inconuenient for in god is na obligacioun to his creaturis / bot all he dois of his fre liberte and will / and sa is nocht of þe creaturis þat god has maid / for he has ordanit þame for his seruice / and the hiest and maist noble for help of the laif / And ane aith and iurament of þe king is to defend the faith of ihesu to defend the haly kyrk / and als to keip and defend his peple And þai þat be þar errour sais þat all þat is in the realme is þe princis & pertenis to his properte / and þat he may do of ilk thing quhat him emplesis / þir ar pepil of euill mynd / and spekis agane all ressoune natural agan moral philosophy and police / agane all law and agane þe haly scriptur / we se þat þe heid of þe persoune / takis nocht to it / all þe blud the [328v] humouris or nurising of the persoune / for þan all þe laif wauld falȝe incontinent and als þe heid wauld peris / for it can nocht be w'out the laif of þe mem/bris / Richtsua 'is' in the realme *et in corpore mistico*/[3] And Sanct paule sais / *Si omnia oculus quid manus quid pes / si omnia caput quid alia membra*[4] And incontrar of þis Errour is writtin *deuteronomium xvii*°[5] And gif all had bene þe kingis in the realme roboam salamonis sone / had nocht tynt ⟨l⟩ x partis of the realme folowand þe counsall of ȝoung men and desirand to augment þe

exaccioun*is* apon[1] þe pepil / as is writtin in the buk of king*is* Alsua dauid[2] / þan suld no*ch*t haue bene punyst for þe diuisioun of þe heretag*e* of miphiboseth na 3it had god punyst achab / *p*rop*t*er *vineam naba/oth*[3] And gif þou alleg*is* / þat it is w*r*ittin in the first buk of king*is* *hoc erit ius regis*/[4] quhe*n* saul was institut king of israell / I ansuer to þat / *quod hoc erat dictum enunciatiue et non preceptiue nec determinatiue*/[5] god said at þat was þe man*er* of lyffing / þat þar king þat þai askit and desirit sa gretlie suld wse abone þame oppressand þame / bot god gaf him no*ch*t power to do sua / bot forbad the king*is* in vthir p*ar*t*is* of halysc*r*ipt*ur* to vsurpe in that maner / or to oppres þe pepil [329r] and god tholit þe king*is* of israell to do sua for þe punicioun of the pepil þat wrangwisly & incontrar to þe plesaunce of god desirit & cryit eft*ir* a king / Vþir way þe text in þat place sais þat þe pepil of israell desirit a king to gowern þame / as þe vthir naciounis besid þame / war gou*er*nit / and god declarit to þame þe maner of gou*er*naunce / þat þai king*is* wsit vpon þar peple þat war tyrannys and na king*is* / as is cleir and manifest be the doctrine þat arestotil gevis in the polethic*is* of king*is* and tyrant*is* and for wikitnes of þe pepil of þe iowis god tholit quhilis sic tyrannys regne abone þame / bot trew it is þat in werray necessite / quhe*n* þe realme and all the pepil is in p*er*dicioun / and in p*er*ell of tinsal / þan baith king and all vthir suld spend þar gud and put þar p*er*soune in danger for the defence of it / and in this maner *Omnia sunt principis ad defensionem regni et in necessitate*/[6] The werray king and prince suld be wertuis he suld laubo*ur* and desyr þat his pepil vnd*er* him haue power and substaunce / þat þai haue wisdome and knawlage / þat þai haue luf and fauour ilkane w[t] wthir be werray beneuolens / for þe noble king þat is louete*n*nand of god / suld be [329v] the ymage of the t*r*inite and conforme him and his pepil to þe souuerane lord and king in power wis/dome and beneuolens / bot all contrar condicionis has þe tyrant þat falsly vsu'r'pis þe office of the place of the king / he is i*n*iust vicius lufis h*is* self and no*ch*t the *com*moune proffit / he desir*is* þat his pepil haue litle power / þat he may do to þai*m* quhat him plesis / he desir*is* þat þai haue litle knawlage or wisdome / he desir*is* þat þar be disce*n*/cioun and diuisioun amang þe pepil / and all þat 'at' þe pepil be waik and he stark / þat he may do quhat him plesis

w^{t}oute*n* resistens / bot as þe tyrant is euill / and þe pepil gud / quhilis þe king is gud and we*r*tuis / and the pepill euill or mony of the noblis And þan as sais arestotil is gret danger for þe king and souuerane / for it is dangerus þat mony euill peple be iunyt to gidd*ir* in a opinioun / bot the ma gud peple þat be of a opynioun it is þe bett*ir* for þe king & realme Ane vthir doctrine is þat þe king suld be of gret power þat na vthir in þe realme may contend or preuale agane him / for and vthir be of equale and elik power / it is able to caus diuisioun discensioun and battale and finaly þe tynsale of þe realme / and be þat |330r| man*er* was distroyit the gret empyr of rome for virgil sais *En quo discordia ciues producit miseros*[1] And lucane sais / *O ciues ciues que tanta licencia ferri gentibus invisis*[2] *lacium prebere cruorem Cum superba foret babilon spolianda triumphis*/[3] for in a battale betuix cesar and pompeus / þar was tynt ma noble roman*is* na my*ch*t haue subiekkit to þame þe gret realme and Empyr of babilon And þarfor it is no*ch*t *con*uenien*t* þat in a realme be a perygall or compeir to a king Ane vthir doctrine is / as I said befor þat þe king suld heir na flatterar*is* na gif na credens to þame / for þai ar s*er*uand*is* of þe deuill and begylis þe prince and garr*is* him trow þ*at* falshed is verite / and þat verite is falsheid / þai put gud and we*r*tuis p*er*soun*is* out of þe king*is* grace / and euill and fals me*n* of subtilite and desait þai mak tend*ir* and mynȝeoun*is* to him Of þis flattorour sais / *tirencius Profecto hic homo ex stultis insanos facit* This adulacioun and luf of þar prop*er* dignite and excellis w^{t} out ressoune kest lucifer Adam '&' Eue out of þar hie dignite it causit nabugodonosar Cosdroe Alexand*er* and mony vthir to trow þat in þame was a maner of di*ui*nite and as iuuenale sais |330v| and a gret king prince or lord luf adulacioun na thing is bot a flatterour may gar þame trow / he sais / *Nil est quod credere de se non possit cum laudatur diis equa potestas*/[2] The flatterour is lik ane ymage in a mero*ur* / for as þou will inclyn or move þe sa dois i*n*co*n*tine*n*t þe ymag*e* / sa þe flatterour euir appliis him to say quhat euir plesis þe lord Ane vthir doctrine is / þat þe king apply him no*ch*t to volupte or carnale plesaunce / for it blind*is* the mynd of the prince and caus*is* gret schame and confusioun / for all takis tent to þe lif and gou*er*naunce of the prince / sua þat it þat he dois secreit is sone reuelit And þe poet*is* sais þat *vlcanus* / þe god of

fyr / maid a subtile net to tak mars þe god of battale / and wenus þe goddes of luf / quhe*n* þai war to gidd*ir* and did þame confusioun befor the multitud of goddis þat signifyis / þat quhe*n* the gret strenth of the king or prince mellis it w^{t} wenus þat is wolupte þan he tholis scham and confusioun befor all the wys pepil of his realme and as sais þe auld storiis quhe*n* a p*r*ince of rome callit achilius / hard þat a doctrine rais in athenis þat lovit volupte fleschly & bodely plesaunce he m*er*walit gretlie and [331r] desirit þat the innemeis of rome vsit þ*a*t doctrin / for he said it suld sone bring þame to confusioun as it did for be the plesauns of capua / as sais *liui*us was effe*mi*n*a*t / and distroyit þe noble kny*ch*t*is* of ha*n*nyball

This folowand cheptur sall declar in p*ar*ticular and in spec*ia*l mony thing*is* and gret doctrinis p*er*/tenand to þi p*er*soune crovn and hie auto-*ri*te souueran lord / and to all þe pepil of þi realme *etc*.

Arestotill[1] þe gret clerk and[2] mast*er* in doctrine & wisdom to Alexand*er* þe gret emp*riou*r sais in the first[3] buk of þe ethik*is* and moral wertuis / *q*uod *iusticia est preclarissima virtus et q*uod *fulget sicut hesperus vel lucifer* / he sayis as [331v] þe day sterne schinis in the firmame*n*t / sa iustice gevis licht in the pepil and polecy And Sanct augustyn sais *q*uod *regna sine iusticia non sunt nisi magna l(a)trocinia*[4] And þarfor as þe corniclis & storiis rehersis / *quid diomedes mari*us *latro* a rewar in the seye was tane and bro*ch*t to Alexand*er* the Emp*ri*our / Alexand*er* dema*n*dit and sperit at him quhy he reft and spulȝeit the peple and m*er*chand*is* that passit the sey / þan ansuerit he hardely and Said þow Alexand*er* quhy spulȝeis þou and refis sa mony diu*er*s peple and trublis all the waurld for caus þou has gret power and nane may resist to þe Thou art emp*ri*our lord and *con*queror*ou*r and for caus my power is litle / I am callit a thef & spulȝeo*u*r bot þi faute is gretar na myn / And for þ*a*t wourd of wertu and werite he gat grace an*e*ns Alex*ander* And oft tymes we se at þai þat ar gret fautour*is* and trespassour*is* ledis þame þat ar mekle les to þe gebet and gallous And sene iustice is a haly thing and a noble wertu / þat may no*ch*t be sauld na boght / þarfor þe king þat has sa noble ane office and power vnd*er* god to mi*nist*er justice and sa mekle hono*u*r and proffit gevin to him / þ*ar*for in na maner of way suld sel iustice or equite The to*p*ir doctrine is / þat he suld no*ch*t ordand na institut þe mi*nist*eris of it na maner of way [332r] bot be wertu / and no*ch*t for siluer or gold reward or prayer / bot for þar wertu equite & sufficiens to þe mi*n*istracioun of it / for and a iuge or mi*nist*er of iustice / by / ane office outhir in the court / of

þe kyrk or temporale / þar is na maner of way bot he will fynd to haue his siluer And þarfor þai truble þe pepil infinit wayis vexand þame be þar offici/ar*is* procuratour*is* aduocat*is* p*ro*motor*is* be wiolens extor/siou*n*is of athis / and ente*r*is in the housis of þe pur peple and revis and trublis all þar gud quhill the pur peple *com*pone w^t^ þame incontrar to the auld law / þat forbad þat a ma*n* suld ent*er* i*n* the hous of his ny*ch*tbur outhir to tak pund / or to se or knaw his pouerte we reid in the auld storyis þat the gret king Cambyses / had a provest þat iugit falslie agane iustice / and þarfor þe king gart his skyn be tane fra him / and put it on þe place & seit of iustice / and gart his sone syt þar / þat he suld haue memor and recordacioun / þat he suld no*ch*t *com*myt sic iniustice or wrang / I reid in the cor/niclis of fraunce / þat þe king was prayit to gif a remissioun for a slaucht*ir* / þan ansuerit þe king þ*a*t he remittit to þe samy*n* p*er*soune sic a cryme of befor and þat he wauld no*ch*t þane remyt him þat faut nor forgeue him / þan was þar present ane þat befor was haldin for a foule þat said to þe king s*ch*ir weraly ȝe suld be werray ressoune forgeue [332v] him for ȝe haue causit þis slaucht*ir* mar þan he þan said the king pas þi way fule þou wait no*ch*t quhat þou sais / quhow haue I slane þe p*er*soune Than ansuerit þe fule / s*ch*ir I sall tell ȝou / for and ȝe had done iustice / befor to þis fautou*r* / he had nocht now *com*mittit þis slaucht*ir* / Than þe king knew his faute / and þe ful was iugit wys / and Cato sais *in salustio* / þat þe iustice ca*n* neuir be weill done / bot quhe*n* þe gud p*er*soune is rewardit and þe euill p*er*soune punyst / *q*uod *res pu*blica *non bene ordinatur q*uando *int*er *bonos et malos discrimen nullum i.e. nulla di*ffe*rentia* Ane vthir doctrine is Souuerane lord þat þi hienes suld no*ch*t multiply mekle þe mi*nist*eris of iustice na oft chaunge þame / I reid in the storeis of fraunce that ane noble lady com to orliaunce / and saw þar mony wantone ȝoung me*n* and sperit quhat þai all com for þar þai ansuerit and said þat þai studyit in lawis / and wauld be sone eft*ir* aduocat*is* or procurato*uris* þan said þe gud lady / allace þan is þis realme at vnder / for in our cuntre is bot ane aduocat and he has distroyit all þe cuntre be his falsheid and subtilite / And þarfor þis gret multitud will distroy mony realmes / And as to þe changeing of officiar*is* / sais þe gret clerk arestotill in his rethoric / þat a ma*n* was richt gretlie hurt and woundit sar / and

þe fleis com in a gret mul/titud and coue*r*it him and drank his blud abunda*n*ly [333r] þan come a ma*n* þat had gret piete of him and chasit þe fleis away / And þan said þe hurt ma*n* in gret dolour / for godd*is* saik lat thir fleis rest heir / for þai ar now fow of my blud / for and þar cu*m* new fleis þai will alut*er*ly *con*sume me þai ar sa mast*er*full and hungry / and sa is of þe new officiar*is* þat ay wil be fillit of the substaunce of þe pur pepil / I reid of ane Emp*r*iour þat vsit his officiar*is* as a watt*er* sponge / þat drawis watt*er* or wyne for quhe*n* þai gade*r*it mekle riches / he wnde*r*stud þar gret wrang and cuuatis / þan he wrang þe sponge[1] and tuk þe riches fra þame / and oftymes changit his officiar*is* / þis king was tyberius Emp*r*iou*r* of rome And þe noble king lowis of fraunce þis king*is* fad*er* þat now is / þat I was counsalo*ur* orato*ur* & fami/liar to / was no*ch*t fer fra þis condicioun / *q*uia *capiebat a suis* / *et nemo dabat habundancius* / Ane v*þir* doc/trine is Souuerane lord pe*r*tenand to iustice / þat þi hienes suld no*ch*t do / as þai þat þe philosopho*ur* ana/charses spek*is* of / þat said þat þe lawis of the realme / ar lik to þe wobe of þe attircop þat tak*is* fleis and litle best*is* / bot þe gret best as dog kow ox beris al away w^{t} þar hornis / be war souuera*n* / lord þat þe sempil pepil of þi realme be o*ur* gretlie oppressit / and at þe gret best*is* brek þi lawis / and mak na covnt of tham / for þe gret men þat ar gevin to hauld ane hie stat our þar power / baith [333v] in the kyrk and temporalite / ar lik to a part of þe seye þat þe ground ca*n* no*ch*t be gottin of / for thir me*n* spend*is* w^{t}out reule or meso*ur* / and þat þai want na gud þai reif fra all me*n* kyrkme*n* and vthir w^{t}out ony pete for as arestotil sais in the ferd buk of the ethik*is* / Prodigalite is sustenit and nurist be Rapin / And þe noble poet*is* as virgil and vthir / sais þat poliphemus þe gyant eit quyc me*n* / bot wys vlixes maid hi*m* blind And busirus þe tirant gaf to his horseme*n* to eit bot val3eand hercules slew him And lachaon maid sac*r*ifice of me*n* to his goddis / bot the gret god iubiter chaungit him in a wolf And all thir poet*is* menis that all thir tyrannys liffit of þe substaunce of þe pur peple be þar rapyn and oppressioun / bot thir wis and noble kny*ch*t*is* as hercules vlixes & iubiter the king punyst and distroyit þame þarfor And þ*ar*for Souuerane lord þi hienes þat is maist Souuerane and hiest in this realme / suld gar wisly tak tent to þi heritag*e* and to þi realme / and lyf honorably þar vpone þat

þi name wertu and glor may be knawin and magnifiit in þi realme And in all partis and caus all vthir to lif of þar awne eft*ir* þar state baith kyrkme*n* and vthir gret and small and nouthir tak þi lyffing nor heretag*e* na oppres þi pur leg*is* for w^t^outin þis þe noble wertu of iustice can no*ch*t be kepit betuix þi hienes / and vþir þi pepil and the[1] |334r| noblis of thi realme / and þai mon finaly cu*m* to covnt*er* befor þe hie maieste of god & p*er*chance befor þi hienes / bot of þi gud*is* now in thi tend*ir* age þou may dispone eft*ir* wertu / and iustice / for iustice ordanis / *Vnicui*que *dare quod su*u*m est*[2] And ilk king & prince suld be werray catholic ane*n*s ih*es*u and the kyrk for þe kyrk is his sp*irit*ual moder / and has gen*er*it him in þe haly font of bapteme / he suld lif eft*ir* þe doctrine of þe halysc*ri*ptur / he suld luf þe kyrk hono*ur* & defend it in the richt and mi*nister*is of it / And geve it be necessite he suld mak batall for þe faith and kyrk of ih*es*u and liberte of it / agane þe infidelis & herretykis for þis is p*er*tenand to þe office of the king & þis he promitt*is* to god in his coronacioun Alsua the king & prince suld be w*er*tuus to gowerne his awne p*er*soune / for and he can no*ch*t do þat / he is no*ch*t lik[3] þat he can w*er*tuislie / eft*ir* his office gowerne a gret multitud and þe hail peple / he suld no*ch*t thole þe fleschlie desir*is* and bestlie plesaunce haue d*omi*nacioun abone him / sene þai ar contrar and repu*n*gnant to wertu & ressoune bot suld be of sa honest conuersacioun / þat he suld be reput worthi to be preferrit to þe laif of þe peple And he þat is consauit and generit of sa noble p*er*soun*is* as king and queyn it is a takin þat he suld of his natur be inclinit to wertu ry*ch*t gretlie we se þat be natur þe frut þat cu*m*mys and growis of ane noble tre / suld be noble[4] & precius And þarfor as arestotil sais / of þe noblis þ*at* discend*is* of [334v] twa sa noble p*ar*t*is* lord and lady king and quene þai suld haue gret nobilite / for as þe frute folowis the nat*ur* of þe tre / sa dois þe barne the natur of þe parent*is* as w*ritt*is arestotil *primo poletice* And þarfor Souueran lord þi hienes suld gretlie consid*er* and awis to þi noble mariage to iune þi hienes w^t^ a lady of hie and noble blud of farnes wertu and beute / þat þou may tak plesaunce in / and haue noble generacioun of / for sche may be þi plesaunce / help to all þi pepil / and þat is a thing þat þi hienes suld gretlie Consider / for þi hono*ur* suld be kepit and no*ch*t to cheis a lady to þi falow in sa tend*ir* habitacioun /

and for all thi life / bot sche war noble worthi and richt *con*uenien*t* to þi hienes Ane vthir doctrine is / þat as ane Erbe or tre is plantit sua it growis And þarfor in þi ȝoutheid & tend*ir* age þi hienes suld her and ler doctrine and sciens to gowerne eft*ir*wart þe peple of þi realme / outhir to reward þame or punys / euir iunand and melland w^{t} iustice mercy / for sua dois in his iugeme*n*t þi souuerane lord & m*er*cifull king ih*es*us / for his m*er*cy is abone all his werk*is* And in þi werk*is* and operaciounis þou suld haue mesur in þi p*er*sonal gou*er*naunce / baith vsand met & drink and carnale operacioun w^{t} þi tendyr lady and spous / for þi body þou suld noc*ht* nurys our diliciuslie / for þan it wauld noc*ht* be sa stark as war expedient to indur laubo*ur* or trauale |335r| for þi pepil and realme to suffer adu*er*site and na*m*lie in battale and deid*is* of armes And thir thing*is* p*er*tenis gretlie to a king and prince / and namlie in þe age þat þi hienes is in and growis to / for sic werk*is* and operaciouni*s* wil caus þi hienes to grow and incres to hie honou*r* and worschipfull name and gret nobilite / for sene þis pur lif is schort and miserable all noble princ*is* suld laubo*ur* for wertu and honou*r* for saluste þe historiane sais / *forme & diuiciarum gloria fluxa atque fragilis est* / sed *virtus clara eternaque habetur* And virgil þe noble poet sais / in Eneyde *Stat sua cuique*[1] *dies breue et irreparabile tempus Omnibus est vite* sed *famam exten*|*dere factis* / *hoc virtutis opus* / And Souuerane lord and þi hienes wse thir doctr*i*nis and noble condicioun*is* þat I haue Spokin of / all þi deid*is* and werk*is* baith in pece and wer will be lova|ble / and cum to gud end and conclusioun and þan þi hienes wil be wourthi and digne to gowerne thi realme / and the pepil vnd*er* the wil be bath we*r*tuus and fortunat *etc.*

In this folowand cheptur I wil continew of þe mater of tempo/raunce / and instruct þi hienes [335v] quhow a noble king and prince of þi nobilite and age suld haue him And als I will treit of þe wertu of fortitude and strenth þat perte/nis gretlie to all kingis & princis *etc.*

Alsua[1] Souuerane lord it is rycht conuenient and honorable to all noble king and prince to vse tempo/raunce and mesur in his werkis and operacionis and first in his eting & drinkinge for sobyrnes and mesur in thir thingis causis him to grow in wit and knawlage / Alsua it strenthis his body gretlie / þe noble king and prince suld in his speking wse temporaunce and mesur Alsua befor þat he suld spek he suld consider quhat he suld say / and namlie quhen he is befor his counsal or men of wisdome and maist principaly in his gret parliament / and quhen he spekis to his aduersaris or innemeis Alsua þe noble king & prince suld be[2] liberale wys peteus cheritable & namlie anens the pur & sempil pepil / for þe honour and luf of ihesu þe Souerane & noble king [336r] and his magnificens & liberalite he suld wse be mesur for wisdom & prudence þat puttis mesur in all thingis suld gowern the king or prince And þarfor to gif wtout consi/deracioun excedentlie to indigne persounis and wtout ressounable caus / is na wertu in a prince or[3] king / bot cummys of prodigalite þat is repugnant to wertu / bot the noble prince in his gift & dona/cioun suld consider þe caus and motive & dignite of the persoune / and conformand to þat he suld wse his liberalite and magnificens And our þis þe noble prince or king suld nocht crab him gretlie and principa/ly in his crabitnes and furor he suld nocht command execucioun of iustice vpon ony persoune for eftir the execucioun and ded of the persoune / he may nocht be all his power repair or rais him agane And it oftymes may fall þat quhen þe ire and crabitnes of the prince soberis / and he cummys to his wit and

gud disposicioun þat him self for/think it gretlie / and þan he may knaw that mekle bett*ir* war wn[1] *com*mandit And ilk redar suld wnd*er*stand / þat in this buk and all my w*ri*ttin I tak euir the prince for the king / and maist hie and Souuerane lord / for sua dois all clerkis oratour*is* and poet*is* in þar sc*ri*ptur & w*ri*tt*in* And for cause þar is law þat ordanis / þat and the prince beand in crabitnes or furor gif a sente*n*s or ordand execucioun to be maid on a p*er*soune to þe [336v] deid / þat the execucioun be no*ch*t done xxx dais/ / eftir / þat þe prince in that space of tyme / may informe him quhe*n* he is sobyr of þe mat*er* and ⟨cais be p*er*fitlie knawin to him⟩ / sente*n*s / and outhir hald or con/ferme it or reuok it or chang*e* it and schaw his m*er*cy eftir at þe mat*er* and cais be p*er*fitlie knawin to him Richtsua Souuerane lord ane noble doctrine is þat a king or prince gif no*ch*t our sone credens to a thing þat is schawin to him agan ony lorde or p*er*soune or to þe equite of þe mat*er* or accioun þat is schawin to him for of þat may cum mony peralis and danger*is* as indignacioun of þe prince agan a lord or wertuus p*er*soune w'out ony caus and als quhar þe prince gevis anys faith and credilite it is hard to gar him trow þe contrar And þarfor it is a gret wertu in king prince or lord to informe him self weil and p*er*fitlie of þe mat*er* or he gif fait*h* or credens to it Alsua quhe*n* þe king prince or lord is requirit be ony p*er*soune to wryt in his prop*er* name to pape or ony vthir cardinal or prince for þe help or promocioun of ony ma*n* he suld ry*ch*t degestlie consider and awis of quhat stat condicioun or dignite þe p*er*soune is þat he writt*is* for and gif he be digne and sufficie*n*t / for þe thing þat he w*ri*tt*is* for or no*ch*t / Or quhe*þir* he ask*is* and desyr*is* thing iust and ressounable / for v*þir* way suld he be na [337r] maner writ in his prop*er* name na vnd*er* his seil for & he do þis / he emplesis god / and wyrk*is* eft*ir* w*er*tu and all vthir princ*is* will honou*r* and lofe him & reput him wys and discreit And all thir doctrynis depe*n*d*is* of the noble wertu cardinale callit temporaunce And now Souuerane lord sene þi hienes is king Souue/rane and maist in this realme / *Et in adolescencia* drawand to virilite And þi noble office riall requir*is* in a gret p*ar*t strenth and fortitud Now will I spek of þe noble wertu cardinale callit *fortitudo* And will teich þi hienes reulis and doctryn*is* p*er*tenand to it The first doctrine is þat ȝoutheid and adolescens is richt necessar for þe

kyrk religioun tovne cite or realme / þis I probe / *quia qui aufert a ciuitate aut regno iuuentutem ver aufert ab anno* / it is elik to tak þe vernale tym and þe begy*n*nyng of the 3er þat is þe first thre monethis fra þe 3eir and to tak þe 3ong me*n* fra þe cite / for and þe begy*n*nyng and wernale tyme quhe*n* herbe corne & frut begy*n*/nis to grow war no*cht* þar wauld na tym folow na my*cht* na frute incres to ma*n*nis help or suste*n*ta/cioun Richtsua and þe 3oung me*n* war away and all distroyit / and eft*ir* come na 3outheid / þe auld sone be necessite war all way / and þan perist religioun realme kyrk and cite The secund doc/trine is þat þe noblis fra þar 3outheid / suld haue [337v] wse and exercicioun in pane and laubo*ur* and i*n* thing*is* pe*r*tenand to wer baith in reding of corniclis and expe*r*ie*n*s of chevalry and deid*is* of armes The caus and ressoune of þis is / for and the noblis in þar 3outheid be nurist our tendi*r*lie þai will no*cht* be disposit eft*ir*wert to susteyne þe gret laubo*ur* and pane in deid*is* of armes and þe sciens and craft / þat þai suld wse / þai suld begyn to leir in þar tendyr age þis doctrine was kepit in all peple and nacioun þat vsit cheualry / þis doctrine vsit gedeon saul dauid þe noble ma/chabeus hector troylus hercules achilles *fabii marcelli scipiones Catones Cesares* and þis was maist wsit *apud romanos* / for befor this exe*r*citacioun sais saluste *historicus gallos gloria belli romanos ante ire* / bot eft*ir* throu exe*r*citacioun of armes *Et* þe*r artem militare*m þe romanis subiekkit to þame amaist all peple and nacioun / for as sais the euuangell / *Exiit Edictu*m *ab augusto cesare vt discriberetur orbis vniuersus* And þarfor the 3oung noblis gentill me*n* or burges so*n*nis suld no*cht* be ydill / bot suld tak þar play and plesance and mak þar exe*r*cicioun in þe hand bow or cros bow i*n* iusting and vthir sic thing*is* / and no*cht* in bowlis fut ball or sic playis / for þai ar of na proffit nor honeste And þe to*pir* is richt *con*uenie*n*t and proffitable / *Pro repu*blica *et regno in doc*trina *rei mili*/*tar*is The prince suld no*cht* move battale / bot outhir for werray necessite / or in his defence / or quhe*n* he seis his avantage and apperand victory agane [338r] his innemeis And quhe*n* he passis to battale his self his noblis his peple suld wse sobyrnes in mete & drink for þan þai ar mar walkrif and scharpe in þar wyt and memor / þat helpis richt gretlie in battale And quhe*n* þai ar fillit of mete or drink þan þai ar suer wn agill and gevin to sleip and volupte And

þarfor the prince suld erar ent*er* in battale befor dyner na eft*ir* / for þe ma*n* is mar scharpe quhe*n* he is fastand and als mar agill / bot and it be lang eft*ir* his refec/cioun and lait of the day / a litle refeccioun of wyn or sic thing war richt *con*uenie*n*t for curage and augme*n*/tacioun of þe spirit*is* of the p*er*soune The noblis & vthir passand to battale suld no*ch*t vse na sup*er*fluite in þar clething na turs mekle bagag*e* w^{t} þame / for sic thing causis lat and impedime*n*t / And þarfor I reid in the noble storeis of rome þat marius said / *q*uod *mundicie et superfluitates spectant ad mulieres* / Sed *pul*/*uis et labor ad vivos* The gret noblis and men of wer as Cesar *pompeus* scipio *fabricius* Cato *octo*/*uianus magnus karalus* and mony vthir oft tymes ridand had þe breid in þar hand and tuk þar refeccioun / þai sat no*ch*t thre hour*is* at þar dyner na had nocht þar coupis na pesis for plesaunce bot þar plesaunce þai put i*n* noble cheualry / and deid*is* of armes / I reid in saluste and storiis of rome þat metellus *princeps romanus* / quhe*n* he come to battale in affric / *Contra iugurtam* / he put fra [338v] his ost the bringar*is* of watt*er* / he forbad þat ony sodin thing or plesand suld be sauld in the Oost / he ordand þat na s*er*uand*is* suld folow þar mast*er* / bot ilk ma*n* suld ber his awne mete and harnes & wapy*n*nis And þus suddanly þai passit and wane the battale The gret historiane *titus liuius* / tellis þat a gret wallit tovne þe maist of spanȝe was segit diu*er*s ȝer*is* and no*ch*t wone / Than come the noble Emp*ri*our scipio *affri*/*canus* fra rome to sege it / and to wyn all þe realmes of spanȝe And quhe*n* he was neir the tovne / the first day he maid proclamacioun / þat all wome*n* suld p*ar*t fra þe ost / The secund day he maid proclama/cioun / þat all s*er*uaund*is* suld pas fra þe oost and þat ilk kny*ch*t and me*n* of wer / suld ber his self all that p*er*tenit to him The thrid day he maid procla/macioun to pas and sege the tovne / and þe sa*m*my*n* day he wane it / And þus Souuerane lord to cary gret bagag*e* in ane Oste as mony of þi realme dois þat mak*is* impedime*n*t to hardines and victory / for me think þat þe snale þat beris hir byrding on hir bak can ga na far gate / na is no*ch*t richt scharp / Ane vthir doctrine and maist principale of all is in battal / *disci*/*plina rei militar*is / þat is at the me*n* of wer suld obey to þar prince to þar capitane and gou*er*no*u*r for *salust*us *historicus* sais / þat þe roman*is* be this meyn gat þe monarche and do*m*inacioun of the waurld /

he sais þai wane it noc*h*t throw strenth / *quia galli precellebant* |339r| *in fortitudine* noc*h*t throw wisdome / for þe grek*is* war wysar / þai wane it noc*h*t be riches / for þe fyrst ro/man*is* war pur þarfor he conclud*is* / þat þai gat þe dom*i*nacioun of the waurld *disciplina militari* / for þai obeyit to þar prince and gou*er*nour / for he þat disobeyand to his Emp*ri*our and Capitane / ourcome and wincust / his innemy / for his disobeysaunce was punyst to the deid *Postumen*us *torquatus* slew his awn propyr sone for caus he ent*er*it in battale agane a franch ma*n* þat he ourcome / And for caus he did þat agan the *com*mand of his fad*er* / þat was þat tyme Emp*ri*our and gou*er*nou*r* of the Ost he slew him And we se þat in a gret multitud and nowm*er* of pepile w[t]out ordinaunce and obedians / ar lik a multitud of scheip w[t]out ane hyrd and is abill sone tobe discomfist And þarfor *Clea|cus dux lacede*mono*ru*m / he *com*mandit þe me*n* of wer quhe*n* þai passit to þe battale / þat þai suld dreid mar þar captane na þar innemeis / it may be sperit at me quhe*þir* strenth and fortitud is mar necessar and bettir in battale or wyt and prudence to þis ansuer*is* saluste *in cathelenario* / þat baith ar richt necessar bot wit is bett*ir* and mar principale / and þarfor he conclud*is* *q*uod *tan*dem *compertum est in bello ingen(i)u*m[1] *plurimu*m *posse* Alsua vlixes was mar prisit na aiax / bot I speir 'quhat is' þe caus þat of lang tyme befor þar was sa mony noble me*n* of wer / þat did sa valȝeand deid*is* as hercules hector achilles troylus diomeid iosue |339v| dauid iudas mach-abeus and mony vthir thow/sandis / as alex*ande*r scipio cesar *karolus arthurus* and now ar nane comparable to þir To þis questioun I ansuer in the auld age and tym passit / þe noblis and me*n* of wer war noc*h*t diligat / bot all set for honou*r* and dignite / of meit or drink þai maid na compt / þai war content to tak gret abstine*n*s and quhilis to et benys and pork and drink watter to ly in þe feild vnd*er* þe treis or all the ȝer vnd*er* palȝoun*is* / and þarfor þai war stark in the bodye and myc*h*t endur gret trauale and adu*er*site and þai war richt curageus / and all gevin to honou*r* & wertu bot the noblis of our tyme ar mynȝeoun*is* & diligat þai mone be nurist of the best and maist plesand met*is* and diligat drink*is* and ly and sleip soft w[t]out a mynȝeoune lady þai can nocht lif And þarfor þar body is tendyr and may noc*h*t thole trawale trouble nor adu*er*site / And þai ar noc*h*t of sa hie and

noble curage to wndertak sic thin(g)*is*[1] to wyn glor and wertuis name bot our all thir thing*is* in ane noble king or prince þat is gevin to honour and victory in ba(t)tale[2] suld be gentilnes and discrecioun / I reid / *in tito liuio nobi|lissimo historico romano* That quhen þe noble scipio *affricanus* come to wyn spanze / he wane a tovne quhar in was a 3oung lady virgin fayrest and maist noble of all the realme / Sche was broght [340r] to him to be his lady and paramour / he saw hir 3outheid and farnes of the lady and þe gret beute þat aperit in hir / and demandit of quhat hous and linage sche was of / he knew sone þat sche was þe maist noble lady of all the land handfast and promittit to ane of the maist noblis of all the realme þat lufit our all thing hir / and desirit hir for his Souuerane lady and spous And quhen the noble Empriour scipio / knew all this he turnit his mynd to his nobilite and wertu And said to þe lady / lady and virgin my luf is gret to 3ou and I am 3ong and of autorite as 3e se / nocht xxviii 3er of age and Empriour of rome / bot I mon for gentil/nes and werray discrecioun prepone wertu & honour to my lust And þarfor lady sene I knaw 3our nobilite & the gret luf betuix the lord þat 3e ar promittit to and 3ow / 3e sal be kepit in all honour and nocht fylit be me or ony vthir And þan send he þe lady fre w^t^ a gret sovme of gold / to þe lord þat lufit hir to be honorabli maryit w^t^ him And quhen the lord knew this / and þe gret nobilite honour and gentrice of the noble Empriour scipio / he passit throu all þe cuntreis of spanze and tauld quhow þar 'was' ⟨is⟩ cummyn sa noble ane Empriour fra rome of sic 3outheid wertu and autorite / þat he was worthi and digne to haue dominacioun our all the waurld And þus he causit for þe gret gentrice and nobilite of scipio mony cuntreis and pepil of spanze w^t^out [340v] battale humely[3] submytt þame to him And þus hie and mychtty prince þi hienes may knaw how nobilite and gentrice w^t^ discrecioun ar mar to be lowit in a prince na his hie power strenth or dignite / for þis wertu is ⟨su⟩per'so'nal[4] and of his self and the topir cummys to him be his naturall procreacioun of his parentis / bot now for þi honour and plesaunce I will desput a questioun of gret difficulte and fauorand to þi noble linage & crovne I will susteyne þe determinacioun þat I sall mak in þis mater agane mony gret clerkis of paris and vthir placis / as of *marcilius de padua* and

mony vþir and wil assolȝe þar ressoun*is* and argume*n*tis þat apper*is* richt stark / bot I pray þi hienes & lectour*is* and auditour*is* of þis werk þat ȝe co*n*uins ȝou nocht for þe fyrst argume*n*t*is* þat sall appeir of gret strenth bot heir þe argume*n*t*is* and ressoun*is* in the contrar and þe sollucioun of the fyrst ressoun*is* And þis I will do for þi plesaunce / and to schaw þat in thi tyme þar has bene a clerk of paris borne of þi realme þat culd defend mater*is* p*er*tenand to þi hienes and realme *etc.*

This folowand cheptur sall adduce mony ressoun*is* & argume*nt*i*s* pro and contra / quhethir it [341r] be mar expedient to realmes to haue þar king*is* succedand be lyn of heretag*e* or be new eleccioun / and sall determe þe first p*ar*t maist co*n*uenie*n*t prof/fitable and necessar *etc*.

ARestotill[1] the gret clerk in the thrid buk of polethic*is* þe xxiii chept*ur* movis þis questioun quhilk is bett*ir* to the pepil / þat þe king regne and succed be naturall successioun or new eleccioun of þe pepill or ony vthir chosin be þame / And arestotill argonys þat it is no*ch*t *con*uenie*n*t þat the realme and crovne discend be heretage and naturall successioun for it may happin and cum þat þe air*is* and barnis of þe king be no*ch*t proffitable na *con*uenie*n*t for þe realme or pepil bot nvsible and inproffitable And þarfor it war bett*ir* þat a w*er*tuus ma*n* war chosin / To þis ansuer*is* *aresto*tiles and sais / þat sum may say / þat þe king þat is gud and wertuis wauld no*ch*t gif þe crovne to his sone bot gif he knew him wertuus & wourthi þarfor / bot wauld gif it to ane vthir excellent in wertu / bot þis ansuer plesis him no*ch*t / and sais þat þis is no*ch*t weill trowable / for to do þ*is* / is requirit mar w*er*tu [341v] na *con*venis nocht to humane natur / for ilk ma*n* is be nat*ur* mar inclinit to luf his prop*er* sone þo*ch*t he be no*ch*t wertuus na ane vthir strangear of gret and excellent wertu And þus arestotil outhir couth no*ch*t assolȝe þe questioun as apper*is* / or ellis was of his opy*n*nioun that it war bett*ir* þat þe king succedit be eleccioun / And þus rema/nis þe questioun ⟨þe⟩ quhilk of thir twa wais be best and maist *con*venie*n*t for þe pepil þat þe realme and crovne and dignite riall discend be successioun & naturall generacioun fra þe fad*er* to þe sone or be new eleccioun of the pepil And I will argw starklie for baith the p*ar*t*is* / and prowe first þat þe way of Eleccioun is best and maist *con*uenie*n*t / and first be the autorite of arestotil / þat was of gret wit and

knawlage *Et cuilibet experto in sua* scienc*ia est credendum* And als be ressoune þat he adducit in þis mat*er* / for as we se þat a land tre or herb quhilis ber*is* gud froit & quhilis ber*is* nane / or ellis þe froit is no*ch*t *con*venien*t* as of wyn treis and vthir / and in all vthir natu/rale thing*is* Richtsua is of the linage of men kings and vthir quhilis þar barnis ar w*er*tuus and wise and quhilis in the contrar And gif ane or mony of thir succedit / it war richt wnproffitable to all the realme and pepil And þarfor it war bettir þat þe king war chosin of new / *item* / be new eleccioun couth neuir be chosin ane sa *in*utill and wnproffitable as ane of thir barnis of the king*is* þat [342r] I haue spokin of befor / for þe pepil wauld no*ch*t condis/cend bot one a gud and w*er*tuus p*er*soune / Alsua it my*ch*t happi*n* þat quhe*n* þe king deit / his fyrst sone war no*ch*t of age to gouerne the realme / and þan war it co*n*uenien*t* to cheis c*er*tane p*er*soun*is* to gowerne him and þe realme quhil he war of age and wisdome / And gif þai be gou*er*nour*is* be nernes of blud it is possible þat þai be wnproffitable / and geve þai be tane be fre eleccioun it war bett*ir* to cheis þe king þat war gud and w*er*tuus Alsua new eleccioun war *con*uenien*t* to all p*er*soune in the realme / and war no*ch*t preiudi/cial to þe sone of the king / for and he war sufficien*t* and *con*uenien*t* he my*ch*t be chosin befor vthir Alsua boece the clerk sais / þat nane ca*n* be a gud mast*er* / but he be / befor a discipil And richtsua aper*is* þat nane ca*n* be a gud king or prince / bot he þat was befor subget Alsua the king suld be as þe fader of þe pepil and þarfor he suld be auld prudent and w*er*tuus and haue exp*er*iens to gowerne þame And for þis caus sais arestotil in the thrid buk of the thopic*is* þat nane ches ȝoung men tobe duk*is* or princ*is* for þai ar no*ch*t c*er*tane of þar wisdome or prudence / and *com*monly quhe*n* þe king deis his sone is no*ch*t of gret age and þarfor it apperis[1] bett*ir* quhe*n* þe king deis þat ane vthir of wisdome be chosin and þarfor sais þe sc*ri*ptur *Ve tibi terra cui*us *rex puer est* Alsua he þat þe pepill [342v] of new chesis is mar oblist to þe pepil / þat ches hi*m* to þat hono*ur* / and he knawis þat and þat he has þat gret hono*ur* throw þame / and þarfor he wauld put mar pane laubour and diligence for þe pepill and realme / na he þat hald*is* no*ch*t the realme of the pepil / bot of his progenito*uris* Alsua it apper*is* þat he þat is of new chosin wauld put mar diligence to gouerne the pepil w*er*tuislie and caus

his barnis to be gud / þat for þar wertu and luf of him / ane of þame war chosin tobe king eft*ir* him Alsua solin*us* sais / þat þai of þe ill of caprobane chesis þar king þat has na airis succedand to þe crovne and putt*is* gret diligens / þat þe crovne gang nocht be successioun he sais / *ideo*que *maxime custodiunt ne fiat hereditarium regnum* / And he sais þat þir pepil ar gret in body and lyff*is* lang / and be þat apper*is* þat þai ar wis / þarfor it war *con*uenien*t* the realme and crovne come be the way of Eleccioun Alsua the king*is* of israell dauid and saul war ordand be eleccioun / And we se þe maner maist *con*uenien*t* and acceptable for gret and hie digniteis is the way of Eleccioun / for þe law ordanis þat the paip bischopis and gretest digniteis in the kyrk & als the Emp*ri*our suld be way of Eleccioun p*ro*ced quhar me*n* suld proced be prudens wertu & conscie*n*s and þis is callit / *Via spiritus Sancti* And all [343r] vniu*er*siteis and clerk*is* þat ar wisest proced*is* be way of eleccioun *er*go þis way is maist *con*uenien*t* / for the crovne realme and the haill pepil *inoppositum* in þe contrar I argovne / þat is mekle mar *con*venient that þe crovne and king succed proced be successioun na be eleccioun / for a ma*n* putt*is* mekle mar pane laubo*ur* and diligence to help kep and gar incres þe thing þat is prop*er* to him / na it þat is no*ch*t sa prop*er*lie his / bot þe realme is mekle mar his and prop*er* to him / þat has it for him and his air*is* na and he had it bot for his lif And þarfor he þat knawis þat his ayr*is* suld succed to þe realme putt*is* mekle mar diligens for þe gou*er*nance and keping of it / na he þat war bot for a tym and be eleccioun Alsua he þat is of new chosi*n* can no*ch*t na may no*ch*t na dar nocht sa weill do iustice punysand the gret p*er*soun*is* and lord*is* of the realme as he þat cu*m*mys be successioun for þe fyrst may dout þat þai þat he punysis wauld reweng þai*m* on his air*is* eft*ir* his deid / and he þat cu*m*mys be successioun dred*is* no*ch*t þat / for his ayr*is* wil be als gret of power as he Alsua subieccion and gud obediens to þe prince is necessar for þe gud of þe king and of the pepil / bot the haill pepil is mar obedient to him þat cu*m*mys be successioun na to hi*m* þat is of new chosin / for þai and þar forbear*is* [343v] has obeyit to his forbear*is* and progenitour*is* / for natur and *con*suetud dois mekle in thir thing*is* Alsua muta/cioun and changeing of ⟨p*er*soun⟩ princ*is* and lawis is caus to waik þe strenth and dignite of þame /

for þe auld lawis suld no*ch*t be changeit for þe new lawis / þo*ch*t þe new in sum p*ar*t be mar proffitable / for þe mutacioun of þe auld law is mar nvsible na is þe proffit of the new '& gud to þe peple & sa is of a new king/'[1] þat þe mutacioun of the p*er*soune & linage is richt disco*n*uenie*n*t / and may caus mony and gret inco*n*uenie*n*t*is* Alsua all nouelte we suld enchew / als fer as we may gudlie / for it bring*is* gret change w[t] it and *com*monly to þe war / and spec*i*alie in sa gret a thing as is þe gou*er*naunce of þe haill realme and pepil / for sic thing causis discord and *com*mocioun And quhe*n* þe king suld be chosin þan is gret nouelte and all the pepil in mocioun and in diu*er*s opiniou*n*is befor the Eleccioun and eft*ir* / and mekle evil abill tocum þarof / And quhe*n* þe prince cu*m*mys be succession it is no*ch*t sua for ilk ma*n* knawis quhat p*er*soune suld succeid to þe realme / Alsua þe fader desyris þat his barnis be riche And þarfor he þat is chosin tobe king knawand þat his barnis succed*is* no*ch*t to þe realme wauld gretlie laubo*ur* to mak þame riche of þe *com*moune gud of the realme in gret dampnage of the pepil / and þat myst*er*is no*ch*t the barnis þat succed*is* in the realme Alsua arestotill [344r] in the secund buk of rethoric / sais þat þai þat ar of new maid riche and of power ar mekle war na þai þat has þar riches of antiquite and of lang tyme passit for þai þat ar of the new riche ar pridfull and *in*iurius / for þai war no*ch*t wount to haue riches and now ar growin to ane new stat And þarfor it is peral to put pur me*n* in gret offic*is* And þarfor it is mar *con*uenie*n*t þat þe king*is* sone succed to þe realme / na to cheis ane vthir of law stat Alsua it my*ch*t be þat ane þat is euill and p*er*alus / for a lang tyme fenȝeit him gud þ*a*t he be chosin king And quhe*n* he is chosin he may schaw his malice and distroy þe realme & peple for as arestotil sais in þe v buk of Ethik*is* *Principa|tus virum ostendit* / And þat war gret inco*n*uenie*n*t for the pepil and realme / Alsua arestotil sais in the first buk of ⟨pl⟩ polethic*is* and of rethoric / þat of the gud progenitou*r*is fader and moder cu*m*mys and is gene*r*it a gud barne and þat we suld suppone and trow weraly / bot gif we se the contrar / þat þe sone of ane gud and noble prince be gud and mar noble na ane vthir sene he is cu*m*my*n* of ane noble rute And þarfor it is mar *con*uenie*n*t þat he succeid in the realme na to cheis ane vthir Alsua be this sa*m*myn way is put out of þe hartis of mony me*n* / ambicioun /

þat is *libido dominandi* |344v| þat is ardent desyr of þe hie dignite / for it þat þai knaw þai can noc*h*t cum to / þai desyr noc*h*t rycht ardently / and þarfor nane trowis tocum to þe crovn bot he þat succed*is* be werray heritag / and sa ȝeid war it noc*h*t and the realme ȝeid be electcioun 'alsua & þe m*u*ltitud of[1] þe pepil maid þe electcioun/'[2] þar war p*er*ell of sedicioun and diuisioun and þa*n* wald oftymes mony cruell slaucht*ir* be maid of mony gud pepil And gif the electcioun war maid be a c*er*tane nowm*er* of p*er*soun*is* and noc*h*t the haill peple it war p*er*ell þat þai maid amang þame decepcioun composi/cioun and mony vthir skaithis / þat war noc*h*t and þe realme come be successioun And our all this & me*n* consider scharplie þe proces of the gret Empyr of rome þat is maid be electcioun / þai may weill consider þat it is gretlie wakyt and diminuit in þe regard of the tyme passit And we se þat vthir gret realmez as fraunce spanȝe and vthir þ*a*t discend*is* be successioun ar noc*h*t swa diminuyt Alsua þe way of successioun is nerar and mar *con*uenient w[t] the vniu*er*sal regim*en* and gou*er*naunce of þe waurld þat god be his infinit power wisdome and beneuole*n*s gouernis / for he is euir ane w[t]out mutacioun or changeing / and eftir vnite p*er*sonale amang men þat may noc*h*t ay indur / sene þai ar mortale þar may be maid na *con*tinuacioun of þe regim*en* / þe realme and crovne be mar vnyte na is it þat is be successioun / fra þe fader to þe sone / and þarfor |345r| the halysc*ri*ptur sais *Mortuus est pater et quasi no*n *mor|tuus simile*m *eum sibi relinquit post se* The fader þat was king / he is lik þat he was noc*h*t deid quhe*n* he lefis his sone eft*ir* him king þat is lik to him Alsua in the tyme þat þe poet*is* and oratour*is* callis ⟨ar⟩ *aurea secula* / þe plesand and goldin waurld*is* þan þe pepil chesit þar king*is* me*n* of gret wertu / and dignite and noc*h*t anerly for þar tyme / bot for þame and þar air*is* / for quhe*n* a linage exced*is* all the laif in wertu & dignite it is richt þat it haue the d*o*mi*n*acioun riall Alsua it is cleir and manifest be the auld storeis þat all gret and noble realmez has procedit be succession of linage and noc*h*t be electcioun / bot in þe begy*n*nyng of þame / or gif it happy*n*nit þe linage to falȝe and þis apperis als in the haly sc*ri*ptur in the buk of king*is* quhar it is said *com*monly *Mortuus est rex & regnauit filius eius pro eo* And sene þis way has bene wsit in all tyme in all realme place pepil and nacioun maist *com*monlie it is takin þat it

is maist *con*uenient and expedient / In the decisioun / of þ*is* questio*un* first I will declar how mony wayis & mane*r*is a persoune may cum to a realme / and syn I will assolȝe the ressoun*is* and argume*nt*is þat I maid / *Ante oppositu*m *questionis* / And as to þe fyrst I fynd twa generale maner*is* þat a p*er*soune may cum to a realme The first is in pes / And þe secund be wer / As to þe fyrst a p*er*soune may cum to a realme be sempill & pur successiou*n* [345v] as to ane vthir heretage / bot þis maner is no*ch*t best / for vthir heretage may be changit or sauld and sa may no*ch*t the realme / for þe rial dignite is sa hie and public hono*ur* and requir*is* for þe hono*ur* of god and proffit of the peple a digne abill & wourthi p*er*soune to gowerne the pepil and realme And þarfor þe lawis þat mak*is* me*n*cioun of successioun or trans/lacioun of heretage suld no*ch*t be wnd*er*stand of þe realme and dignite rial / for it is ane mar hie and noble thing / na is ane heretage p*ar*ticular or pryuate Ane vthir way tocum to ane realme is be pur and sempil electioun and þis way is no*ch*t best and maist *con*uenie*n*t / as I haue prowit be mony diu*er*s ressoun*is* and argume*nt*is The thrid way is mydd*is* betuix þir twa and almaist mixt of þai*m* baith / and p*ar*t be electioun and vthir p*ar*t be heretag*e* it is be electioun of ane noble hie w*er*tuis & excel/lent lynag*e* / þat þe hail pepil fyrst has chosin to gowerne the realme / and be successioun disce*n*/dand of þat noble linage And in þis maner regnis the noble king*is* of fraunce and scotland & mony vthir realmez And ⟨in⟩ 'of' þis maner spekis in a part arestotil in þe xxi chept*ur* of þe secund buk of polethik*is* / and in þe xx cheptur of þe thrid buk is schawin þat on þis maner was chosin þe first king*is* *in seculis et temporibus aureis* And in the thrid buk þe xxvi cheptur and in the[1] [346r] v buk of polethik*is* Arestotill schawis þat it is a w*er*tuus and iust thing / þat sic a linage regne and haue d*omi*na/cioun in þe realme Alsua the haly sc*ri*ptur in diu*er*s plac*is* mak*is* me*n*cioun of sic maner of electioun of linage for to þame þat turnit new to þe faith of ih*es*u Sanct petir said / *Vos est*is *genus electum regale sacerdociu*m *gens sancta populus acquisicionis* And of þe carnale linage and generacioun of iuda þe sone of iacob sais þe prophet þat ih*es*us our saluato*ur* chesit it to discend of / and at þe king*is* suld be of it / *Sed elegit tribum iuda* And þe sc*ri*ptur sais *Non auferetur sceptrum de iuda & dux de femoribus eius donec veniat*

qui mittendus est / dauid the prophet was chosin to þe dignite riall for him and his ayr*is* *iurauit dominus dauid veritatem de fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem tuam Et postea* / *Et filii eorum* vsque *in seculum sedebunt super sedem tuam* / Richtsua was aron for him & his ayr*is* chosin be god to þe dignite sac*er*dotale / and as þir þat was first chosin to þir digniteis was of gret wertu and excellens / sa suld þai be þat discendis fra þame / and hald*is* and ⟨co⟩ occupiis þar place and digniteis / And to knaw of quhat condicioun*is* þe king*is* suld be I will declar p*ar*t of reulis / þe fyrst is þat na strangear of ane vthir tovng suld suc/ceid to a realme and þis menis Arestotil in þe xv chept*ur* of the first buk of polethik*is* The ressoune of þis is The king suld be as a fader to þe subgett*is* and peple [346v] And þarfor he suld be of a linage and blud w^t^ þame / and god gaf þis sa*m*my*n* reule *deuteronomium xvii^o^* he said to his pepil *Non poteris alterius gentis regem face*re / *qui non sit frater tuus* That is of þi nacioun and kyn Ane vthir reule is þat in gud & p*er*fit police þar suld nane succed to þe realme and dignite riall / þat has in þar saule or body condicioun repu*n*g/nant to þe dignite and office riale And þis I wnd*er*/stand of þe vic*is* and faut*is* þat ar intollerable / þ*is* reul is no*ch*t fer fra þe law of natur þat ordanis no*ch*t sa indigne and wnworthi a p*er*soune to be Erekkit or lyftit to sa hie and noble dignite abone all þe pepil And our all thir in diu*er*s cuntreis ar diu*er*s ma/n*er*is and lawis an*en*s þar king*is* þar princ*is* and vthir digniteis / bot in the sext counsal of tolect / *in sexto consilio toletano* / was ordand þat eft*ir* þe deces of the king nane suld tak þe croune or dignite riall be presumpcioun or tyranny / and þat nane þat war professit in religioun / suld be promouit to the dignite riall / or had gret faute in his p*er*soune / or com of s*er*uitute and no*ch*t of a noble linage / bot he þat war of gre wertu and merit*is* And he þ*a*t did agane þis suld incur hevy & dampnable cursyn The counsale said þus in latin *Rege vero defuncto nullus tyrannicus presumpcione regnum assu/mat* / *Nullus sub habitu detrusus aut turpiter decal/uatus aut seruilem originem trahens vel extranie gentis* [347r] *homo non genere et meritis dignes prouehatur ad apicem regni temerator autem huius constitucionis sanctissime* / *perpetuo anathemate dampnetur* / And þus I conclud þat þe realme suld be gou*er*nit be the king succedand and no*ch*t new chosin / And he suld succed in þe maner þat I haue

declarit befor Bot þar is vthir ma/ner*is* tocum to þe realme quhilis be conquest or battale And quhilis þai þat conquestis þe realme eft*ir* þe law of me*n* has na richt to it / bot þai þat rang befor in it has dese*r*uit to tyn it And as quhe*n* a p*er*soune of the realme forfaut*is* his he*r*etage þan þe king or p*r*ince gevis it to ane vthir Richtsua quhe*n* þe king*is* & p*r*inc*is* abusis þar power and dignite and causis þe pepil tobe euill and p*er*werst / þan god þat is king of king*is* and distributor of realmez at translat*is* þe realmez as he will *Transfert regna atq*ue *constituit* / quhilis for sic crimes or faut*is* he gevis / the realme to ane vthir king / and quhilis of ane vthir nacioun and causis him to conquest it / for as sais sapiens / quhilis a realme '⟨fra a pe*p*le⟩ is t*r*anslatt'[1] fra a pepil[2] til ane vthir / for iniustis and contumelius[3] and crymes *com*mittit be þe gou*er*nou*ris* or pepil *regn*um *de gente in gentem transfertur* And þis way to obteyne realme or lordschip is expreslie contenit in the haly-sc*r*iptur *deutero*nomium *ix°* quhar moyses sais to þe pepil of israell in the name of god / þou pepil sal pas þe gret watt*er* and Rywer of iordan [347v] and þou sal haue possessioun of gret land*is* and regne vpone gret nacioun and peple þat ar starkar na þou art in þar distruccioun / And quhe*n* god has distroyit þame said moyses befor þi face / say no*ch*t in þi hert þ*at* god has gevin þe þis land for þi iustice / for it is no*ch*t swa / bot god has distroyit þir nacioun*is* and pepil for þar euil sy*n*nis and felouny And þarfor sais the sc*r*iptur þat god gaf no*ch*t the peple of israel / þat gud land for þar iustice or merit*is* / bot the pepil & nacioun þat was þar befor he distroyit for þar gret wikitnes and euill werk*is* And þus þis peple of israel had na richt to þai land*is* / be the law of me*n* / bot throw þe gift of god þat is þe Souuerane king agan quhom þat peple fautit and forfautit þar land & heretage And be this maner mony realmes has bene co*n*quest and may be ȝit And þis is as I gaf þe exampil befor / quhe*n* a lord forfaut*is* his land / and þan þe king or prince gevis it to ane vthir þat þa*n* has werray richt to it / Ane vthir maner and way to conquest a realme / is quhe*n* þai þ*at* conquest*is* it has na iust title to it / and þai þat hauld*is* it has iust title to it / and þan þai þat wy*n*nis it gett*is* it be wiolens or decepcioun and has na ressoune to it And þarfor þai ar no*ch*t werray king*is* of it / And of þis maner sais Sanct augustyn in the ferd buk *de ciuitate dei* quod *Regna sine iusticia*

sunt magna lat*r*ocinia / bot it is possible þat sic d*omi*nacioun eft*ir*wert [348r] be turnit in werray realme and gud police quh*en* the pepil is gou*er*nit in w⟨ertu⟩*er*ray[1] iustice and wertu & co*n*sent*is* to þe domi*n*acioun of the p*er*soun*is* þat gou*er*nis þame / for as sais Sanct ierome / *iniquitas bene dispensata vertitur in iusticia*m And þus I haue declarit v maner*is* tocum to a realme / ane be electcioun twa be successioun and twa be conquest / and quhilis be force or decep/cioun And þe electcioun may be done be me*n* or be god / or his spec*ia*l mirakle And Souuerane lord þus I haue det*er*myt and desput þis questioun for ple/saunce of þi hienes and gif I haue falȝeit I submyt me to þe correccioun of þi hieness And now will I assolȝe þe ressoun*is* þat I maid in the contrar of þe natural successioun of king*is* and of my det*er*mi*n*acioun precede*n*t And first I graunt þat þe way of new electcioun war richt *con*uenie*n*t and proffitable gif þe lawis and condicioun*is* of the new electcioun and chesin war gud w*er*tuus and weill vsit and practit / and be this maner / and þe sone of the king war bettyr / na þe laif / be ressoune þai suld cheis him / bot þe multitud of the pepil folowis no*ch*t euir wertu & v*er*ite na knawis it no*ch*t and mony euill affecciou*n*is trub/lis me*n* in litle and smal mat*er*is And þarfor in the realme and dignite riall quhar mony troublis may happi*n* / þe maist sur way suld be chosin and maist *con*uenie*n*t to enchow and euade all inco*n*uenie*n*t*is* peralis and danger / and þat is þe way of successioun of þe [348v] fyrst sone of the king þat is maist digne & wourthi baith for the p*ri*matiue of his concepcioun and birth & for his prudence and wisdome quharin he exced*is* þe laif and als for þe hono*ur* of ih*es*u þe sone of god / *qui est p*rimogenit*us inter f*rat*res* And als þe halysc*ri*pt*ur* sais *Est*is *d*omin*us fratr*um *tuorum de iure p*rimogeniti And as to þe ressoun*is* and argume*n*t*is* þe first is foundit on þe autorite of arestotil / and ansuerand to it I say first / þat arestotle said 'no*ch*t' þat det*er*mi*n*atly for conclusioun bot be the way of argume*n*t and dubitacioun And þo*ch*t he said it for det*er*/mi*n*acioun or conclusioun / it suld be wnd*er*stand condicio/naly þat is to say / and all þe noble condicioun*is* of w*er*tuus electcioun war obs*er*uit and kepit w[t]out ony scisme or diuisioun And gif the king þat cu*m*mys be suc/cessioun war mis*er*able and wnproffitable to þe realme þe pepil my*ch*t put remeid be wis counsal & gou*er*nyng of him / and of þe realme And

to þe to*þir* þat sais þat þai[1] wauld neu*ir* be chosin ane sa i*n*util / as he þat may cum be successioun þis is wncertane / and geve it provis oucht it proced*is* condicionaly þat is and w*er*tuus eleccioun war euir kepit w[t]out trouble or discord þat richt seldin couth be obs*er*uit in sa gret a mat*er* for ambicioun To the thrid ressoune þat sais / þat it may fall quhe*n* þe king decess þat his sone be no*cht* of age To þis I ansuer þat in þ*is* cais his fad*er* and the law suld provide / quha suld haue þe gou*er*naunce of him and the realme / quhil [349r] he cum to eild and wisdome To the ferd resson þat sais / þat þe king*is* sone my*cht* be chosin for kinge it is verite Alsua he my*cht* falȝe and be no*cht* chosin & þarfor þe way of successioun for all securite & enchew/ing of inco*n*uenie*n*t is best To þe v þat sais / þat þe prince suld first be subgett / I ansuer þat it is nocht necessar / þat he be as ane of the peple / bot it suffis*is* þat he be weill instrukkit in wertu and thing*is* p*er*te/nand to þe gou*er*naunce of the pepil and realme To the vi þat sais þat þe king and prince suld be of age I ansuer þat it is no*cht* requirit þat he be auld in ȝer*is* / bot he suld be auld in wertu and prudens And it happy*n*nis þat a child of noble nat*ur* as þe sone of the king in schort tyme and be litle exp*er*ien*s* is maid wisar and mar prudent na ane vthir in gret proces of tym / for the nobilite of his natur and complexioun And quhar arestotil sais / *Nemo iuuenes elegit duces*[2] I ansuer þat arestotil spekis of ȝoutheid of man*er*is and wertu / and of þe prince þat is maid be eleccioun And gif þe prince be tend*ir* in age in the deces of the king I say þ*at* þe realme and law suld ordand þat he and þe realme be tend*ir*lie and wislie gou*er*nit / and all þai of the realme suld haue naturall luf and reuere*n*s to him / and suld haue gud hop of him / as of þar heid cheif and prince And to þis purpos sais *iustin*us *historicus* þat þe pepil of macedone 'anis' eft*ir* þe deces of þar [349v] king war wincust in battale And þan þai passit agane to battale and tuk w[t] þame þe king þat was richt ȝoung / and for luf and reuerens and laute þai bur to him þai wincust þar innemeis w[t] gret hono*ur* and lovage and þis noble victorie þai gat for þe Reue/rens þai bur to þar prince of tend*ir* age / To þe vii & viii ressoun*is* I ansuer that þe way of successioun is mar sur and *con*uenie*n*t for þe pepil & realme as is manifest be the ressoun*is* befor maid To þe ix of þai*m* of the yle of caprobane / I ansuer þat

þai haue lawis sa hard for þar king / þat na wis ma*n* suld desyr to be þar king and þarfor þar lawis and mane*r*is ar no*ch*t *con*uenie*n*t / *vt narrat solinus* To þe x ressoune I ansuer that and all wertu and noble condicioun war kepit in the electioun þat way war maist *con*uenie*n*t / bot þat happy*nn*is[1] / no*ch*t amang me*n* bot mony inconuenie*n*t*is* wauld folow of þat way and þarfor þe way of successioun is mar sur/

This folowand cheptur declar*is* ⟨&⟩ how þe king is loueten/nand of god in þ*is* mortale lif in gou*er*naunce of þe peple in temporalite *etc.*

[350r] Ande[1] Sene We se and knawis be hevinly doctrine / þe hie and noble king of angellis and all creatur þat is the devin maieste be his noble power ⟨that ar⟩ w*er*tuis þat ar power wisdom and beneuolens gou*er*nis his creatur*is* his power is infinit / bot it is reulit be his wisdome / in gou*er*naunce of the waurld And baith power and wisdome of the hie and noble king of pa/radice reulis and gou*er*nis the creatur*is* be wertu of bene/uolens Tharfor we suld weill knaw and wnd*er*stand þat þe noble king and prince t*er*rene / þat is his loue/ten*n*and in temporalite suld wse thir noble wertuis in gou*er*nyng of his pepil The power of the prince suld be reulit be wisdome And sene the king suld luf þe pe/pil as þe fader his child and prop*er* sone / his power and wisdome he suld myng w[t] piete clem*en*s and beneuolens / for as sais þe sc*r*iptur *M*isericord*ia & veritas custo/diunt regem et roboratur clemencia tronus eius* And the gret power is gevin to þe king and vnd*er* him to his officiar*is* and m*em*bris no*ch*t for þe distruccioun of his peple bot for þe help suple and defence of þam / for as sais þe apostle / *P*otes*tas non est data in distruccione*m sed *in edificacionem* And þis power is ma(n)ifest[2] in the realme in cheualry / his wisdome and prudence is put in execucioun and declarit in iug*is* and counsalour*is* in mat*er*is of iustice / no*ch*t abusand þe law in fraude or decepcioun / his clem*en*s and benignite he schawis [350v] in his publict officiar*is* þat suetlie w[t] all m*er*cy and piete tret*is* þe pepil and bring*is* no*ch*t hevy exaccioun*is* or extor/sioun*is* vpone þame And þarfor sais þe poet virgil lovand Eneas þe king of ytalie / *Post latuium regem ex nuptu lavinie filie eius / Rex erat eneas nobis quo iustior alter Nec pietate fuit nec bello maior aut ar/mis* And þe sa*m*my*n* noble poet sais i*n* eneyde *Tu regere imperio populos romane memento / he tibi artes erunt pacisque*

*impone*re *more*m *Parcere subiecti*s *& debellare superbos* / he sais þat þe king and prince suld defend his pepil be iustice / and quhe*n* þai ar humyll & obedient he suld schaw his me*r*cy and piete to þame And quhe*n* þai ar inobedie*n*t and resistant to his iustice and lawis he suld punys þame gretlie And þis is verite for þe king suld defend his peple agane þe innemeis and strangear*is* be þe wertu of fortitud and his awne pepil of his realme he suld reule and gowerne be iustice / I reid in the haly scr*i*ptur *danielis 2*° *&* *3*° / þat þe gret king of babilone and cauld nabugodonosar liand in his bed had gret consideracioun of the thing*is* pe*r*tenand to his realme for þe tym tocum and þat was a gret takin of wertu / þat a king think*is* of þe state of his realme and to put it in gud reule and wertu for þe tym tocum / als weill as for his tyme / for þat is pe*r*fit luf and amor of the realme and *com*mon [351r] proffit / and doand sua þe king lufis his realme and his successioun and þat is þe principale foundame*n*t þat þe realme and crovne suld cu*m* be succes/sioun / and no*ch*t be eleccioun / And sene þe king knawis þat þe realme is his prope*r* & we*r*ray he*re*/tage / and is sa noble and wourthi / na me*r*wel suld be þat he haue gret mynd and tho*ch*t of þe regime*n*t and gou*er*naunce of it for him and his successioun And þarfor sais macrobius *in saturnalibus* that tho*ch*t pensy and consideracioun is þe thing þat pe*r*tenis maist to a prince / þat is þat he haue his mynd & meditacioun for þe *com*mone gud of the realme & pepil And þarfor he sais þat a playar figurit payntit and representit a prince i*n* mocioun trauale or battale / and ane vthir repre'h'⟨s⟩entit him / and said þat he falȝeit and he pantit him sad and pensif and all þat was pur lovit þe secund And to the sa*m*my*n* purpos sais Sapie*n*s *Rex qui sedet in solio iudicii intuitu suo dissipat* o*m*ne *malu*m *& iteru*m *idem princeps que digna sunt principe cogitabat et ipse su*per *duces stabit* / he sais þat a king or prince þat conside*r*is quhat pe*r*tenis to a prince sall regne and haue do*m*ina/cioun / our all his pepil gret and smal And þarfor þai þat occupiis a king or prince in licht & wane thing*is* / insafer as he conside*r*is no*ch*t to þe gou*er*nans of his pe*r*soune and realme falȝeis richt gretlie And þe noble poet virgil in his buk of eneydos lovand þe king eneas oftymes declar*is* þat he was in p*r*ofound pensy & meditacioun[1] [351v],[2] Conside*r*and quhow þat he suld gowerne be wisdome and prudence his peple and realme

baith in wer & pes *Multa secum meditans*[1] *premit*[2] *alto corde dolorem*[3] The storiis of rome sais that þe noble Emp*r*iour scipio *affricanus* þat ilk day at morne or he occupiit hi*m* w[t] ony mat*er*is he passit to þe capitole of rome and remanit þar alan twa hour*is* and mar avisand quhat thing*is* he had a do for þe *com*mone proffit And gif þe king be 3ong and wantoune he suld trow to wis me*n* þat wauld weill counsale him for his p*er*soune and realme And Sanct ierome sais þat god to a pagane nabugodonosar reuelit his sacret for þe gud of þe haill pepil he sais þis exponand þis story of daniel / And þarfor þou may weill knaw þat god has mar cur to reuel sic thing*is* to gud cr*i*stin princ*is* þat has þar confidens in him for as sais þe scr*i*ptur *Cor regis in manu dei est & quocu*mque *voluerit inclinabit illud* And the wis philosoph*our*is of grece said þat me*n* suld gif mar credens to þe dreme of þe king or prince na of ane vthir for þe devin prouidens gou*er*nis þame in special / for þe gud of þe pepil and realme The noble doctour*is* in theologi sais / that the king*is* and princ*is* has spec*i*al angellis kepand þame mar þan vther pepil for þe gud of þe pepil and þat þai ar of hiar ierachie in þar office And quhe*n* þis king nabugodonosar was þus i*n* his gret tho*ch*t and meditacioun he fell in sleip and saw a visioun / for as sais iob / god oftymes reuelis [352r] sacret thing*is* in sleip And sa þe euuangell mak*is* witnessing this king tho*ch*t that befor him aperit ane ymag*e* of gret magnitud and hecht / and þe sicht of it was t*er*rible he tho*ch*t þat þe heid of it was of fyn gold and breist and armes of silu*er* þe wame and theis of brace The legg*is* was irne / and a p*ar*t of þe feit was of Erd and ane vthir p*ar*t of irne / and he tho*ch*t þat a stan come fra a montane and hill w[t]out hand*is* or opera/cioun of ma*n* and strak þis ymage to sounder and þan rais ane realme p*er*durable w[t]out end and suppos þ*is* ymage and visioun haue mony diu*er*s significaciou*n*is of diu*er*s realmes and age of me*n* as doctour*is* exponis And first daniell the prophet / 3it I will mak a morale exposicioun conforme to arestotil and plutark And sanct paule þat comperis A realme to þe p*er*soune of the ma*n* and to his body / for the dignite riall and realme may be comperit and figurit be this ymag þat was m*er*walus gret and t*er*rible to se Rychtsua þe riall dign*i*te and realme is of gret excellens and power & autorite The king and þai of þe blud riall ar signifiet be þe heid of gold / for in the king is

power wertu and auto*ri*te / and vnd*er* him ar þe thre estat*is* / þat ar nobi*li*te and cheualrie clergie / and þe burges*is* þat ar signifiit be the thre p*ar*t*is* of þe ymage vnd*er* þe heid and as the heid of þe ymage is of precius gold / and abone all the laif Rychtsua þe dignite riall abone all the |352v| stat*is* of the realme / the nobilite and chewelry is figurit and signifiit be the breist and armez þat ar of siluer for þar force and dignite / the clergy is signifiit be þe wame and theis of bras / for as þat metall sound*is* weill / sa suld þe clergy sound plesandlie in doctrine verite and sciens And þarfor þe halysc*ri*ptur *com*mand*is* the clergi *quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam* / And þoc*h*t the wame mak na gret laubo*ur* / 3it it nurisis all þe laif of the me*m*bris / And sa suld þe clergi sp*iri*t*u*al nuris all þe pepil The estat of þe burges and lauborar*is* ar figurit be the legg*is* / þat ar of irne / and a p*ar*t of þe feit of irne and ane vthir p*ar*t of Erd / for þe laubo*ur* & humilite of the laude pepil þat obeis and ar vnd*er* þe laiff And þus we haue four principale p*ar*t*is* in the realme The king þat is þe heid of gold quharin is soue/rane autorite þe nobilite and cheualry quhar þar is fortitud and strenth / to distroy adu*er*site and defend þe realme Clergy to instruk and gif lycht to þe laiff be werray prudence And burgess*is* and the pepil / that sustenis the laif be temporaunce / And þus to thir four p*ar*t*is* ar approp*er*it þe four cardinal w*er*tuis / to þe king iustice / fortitud and strenth to þe nobillis / to þe clergi prudens / and to þe burgess*is* and *com*moune pepill tempo/raunce And be thir four w*er*tuus suld be maid the refor/macioun of all this haill realme / þat þis mony 3er has bene in gret deformite And þus we may consid*er* |353r| four punct*is* principaly in the realme conformand and core/spondand to þe four p*ar*t*is* of the ymag*e* / the first punct is of þe gud and w*er*tuus gou*er*naunce of the king & realme in þe king in his p*er*soune in his houshald and blud riall and of þe gou*er*naunce of his realme be iustice þat orda/nis to euirilk p*er*soune / it þat p*er*tenis to him be ressoune and þat signifyis the heid of gold The secund punct is of þe defence of the realme agane þe innemeis aduersar*is* and strangear*is* and þat signifyis þe breist and armes þat betaky*n*nis cheualry and nobilite The thrid punct is ane*n*s þe faith and hevinly doctrine þat teichis þe clergi / þat is figurit and signifyit be the wame þat nurysis as I haue twichit befor The ferd punct twichis þe rewe*n*uois and rent*is* þat þe king

suld haue of þe pepil for his sustentacioun and þat is signifiit be the leggis and feit And þe story sais þat nane couth expone or declar þis visioun outane daniell þat knew it be þe hevinly reuelacioun of god / þat is maid to ws in the haly scriptur And þarfor sais þe hevinly sapiens and wisdom *Per me reges regnant et legum conditores iusta decer/nunt* / And the stane þat come fra þe hill and brak þe ymage signifyis / þat all king and prince suld hu/myll and submyt him to god / þat is king of kingis / and þis stane brak þe ymage in powder to signifie and betakin þat it is noght of waurldlie power and dominacioun / in regard and comperisone of him / and þe |353v| hevinly realme / And þarfor we suld say as said haly abrahame / *loquor ad dominum meum cum sim puluis et (c)inis*[1] And sene twa things ar þat has gouernaunce and regimen in this mortale waurld as writis the paip gelasius to ane Empriour þat is the dignite sacer/dotale and episcopale and the autorite riall The tane in spiritualite the topir in temporalite / þarfor I will in a part declar quhat signifyis and betakynnis / *Regalia insignia*[2] Trew it is þat þe Empriour is crovnit w[t] thre crov/nis / ane of gold þat signifiis his gret excellens and nobilite / as þe gold is maist precius our all metall Ane vthir crovne of siluer þat signifyis ⟨his gret excellens and nobilite⟩ / þe cler iustice þat he suld wse The thrid crovne is of irne þat signifyis his gret strenth power and pissaunce / bot the king resawis a crovne of gold þat signifyis his gret excellens & dignite our all his pepil / he is anoyntit to signifye and declar þat þe dignite riall he haldis of the hevinly king ihesus / þat þe prophet sais of / *vnxit te*[3] *deus tuus oleo leticie pre participibus tuis*[4] '& þe apostle sais *ad hebreos* / *dilexisti iusticiam & odisti iniquitatem pro(p)terea*[5] *vnxit te deus oleo ex/ultacionis pre participibus tuis*/'[6] And as ihesus was mercifull to humane linage / sa suld the king his louetennand and minister be to his pepil / he wsis þe ceptur in takin / of þe hie power and autorite in ciuil accioun The suerd he wsis in takin of criminale iurisdiccioun to correct / and punys þe trespassouris in the crovne ar mony precius stanis / þat signifyis |354r| þe gret wertu and assistaunce of the diuinite to þe king in the gouernaunce of his pepil and he will life wertuislie and ask help and suple of god / in it ar stanis of wertu cleir hard and of gret dignite þat signifyis & betakyn/nis þe gret wisdome and prudens / þat suld

be in a king and prince to gowerne his realme and pepill / and as to þe clernes bry*ch*tnes and schynyng of þame þai signi/fy gret thing*is* and w*er*tuus Thai precius stanis ar hard and of gret force / þat signifyis þe gret ⟨force⟩ wertu force and strenth / þat þe king suld haue our all þe laif in the mi*n*istracioun of iustice and defens of his pepill And the vthir noble w*er*tuis includit in þai precius stanis signifyis and betaky*n*nis þe noble wertuis that king*is* has had in tyme befor / and þat þai suld haue / euir exersand þar noble office and dignite considerand þ*a*t þai ar þe louete*n*nand*is* of god and ih*es*u to gowerne w*er*tuislye his pepil And þis noble crovne is set on þe heid and hiest p*ar*t of the king to declar and signifye þat þis power and regime*n* he hauld*is* of god i*n*mediat/lie / and þat nane is abone him in this mortal waurld in the temporale gou*er*naunce and regime*n* / for þe haly prophet dauid þat ih*es*us come of linialie / *Secundu*m *carnem*[1] said to god eft*ir* his syn *com*mittit agane him / *Tibi soli peccaui et malum cora*m *te feci*[2] he menit þat na tempo*r*al ma*n* na power my*ch*t be ressoune punys him sene he was vicar and louete*n*nand of god in [354v] temporalite And of the precius stanis of the crovne ryall spek*is* mony clerk*is* and wis gower in his buk twichis þe significacioun of the sa*m*myn mater and quhat þai figur and signifyis

In this folowand cheptur I will mak epilogacioun in schort of mony things þat I haue writtin in þis last buk / and schaw how a king or prince suld haue him anens his counsall

And[1] Souuerane lorde sene þi hienes[2] is of tendir age risand to strenth & wisdom I will in þis last cheptur geue part of doctrine / how þi hienes suld proced in takin of counsal and of quhat persounis[3] / þi hienes suld eschew to ask counsall fra / and quhow þou suld examyn þe counsal gevin to þe / & quhen þou suld be wisdome and prudence change þi counsall / and as to þe fyrst Souuerane lord þi hienes suld in all þi werkis and operacionis / ask at the hie god of wisdome þat he will direk þe to wyrk in all thing / eftir his plesaunce and will / for sua [355r] teichit Tobias his sone And eftir þis þi hienes suld considir in þi self quhat is maist expedient for þi persoune þi realme and pepil And in consideracioun of þe things þat þi hienes pretendis lat nocht crabitnes na cuua/tis na hastines na sic passiounis haue dominacioun in þi mynd or persoune / for thir things as I haue said befor puttis impedimeṇt agane wisdome & wertuus counsal And quhen þi hienes has found be wys & sad delibe/racioun quhat thing is best and maist conuenient in the mater þat proponis to do þan suld it be sacret/lie kepit in þi mynd / for and it war tauld / oftymes þe entencioun and purpos of þe wis prince mycht be lichtlie brokin And quhen a persoune reuelis his sacret counsall to ane vthir / þan puttis he him in his danger of reueling of it / And gif þou prayis him to hauld it sacret / it war bettir þat þi ⟨sef⟩ self held it sacret / for it þat þi self can nocht do quhow suld þou traist in ane vthir persoune And gif þou will alway spek of þat mater / þou may propone þe mater on sic a maner to þi frend / sayand quhat think ȝe maist expedient / þat I haue wer or pes / or of ony sic thing þat þou proponis to do / and quhat part þat þi counsalour ansueris to speir his ressoune and caus

þarof / for and þe king or prince schaw his mynd and purpos he þat her*is* him *incon*tine*n*t is abill for plesans of him to condiscend to þe sa*mm*y*n* quhe*þir* it be ry*cht* |355v| or wrang And als the sacret mynd and purpos of the king it is abill tobe reuelit / And eft*ir* þis þe prince sulde consid*er* his frend*is* and quhilk of þame lufis him best & quha ar lelest quha visest and quha eldest and has maist exp*er*iens in gou*er*nyng and in counsale And at sic me*n* suld the prince ask counsal as þe mat*er* requir*is* *quia* *in senibus viget sapiencia et in longo tempore addicitur prudencia*|[1] as sais noble philosophour*is* and als the halysc*ri*ptur And þus the counsalour*is* of the king and prince suld be trew wis and auld / for þai suld haue exp*er*ie*n*s in the mat*er*is þat þai suld counsale of / for Salamon sais / *ibi salus vbi consilia multa*|[2] And the grete poet of grece Omer sais þat vlixes þat had gret exp*er*iens / was ane of þe wisest amang all þe grek*is* in the wy*n*nyng of troie Arestotill and syn oras the poet alleg*is* omer in þat and sais *da michi musa virum capte post menia troie / qui mores hominum nouit cogno|uit & vrbes|*[3] And þarfor þo*cht* aiax was mar of strenth and hardines ȝit þe grek*is* preferrit vlixes to him for his gret wisdome and prudence *Et dabant ei arma achillis*|[4] as declar*is* ouid þe poet / *in maior*e *op*ere quhar he induc*is* þe gret conte*n*cioun betuix aiax and vlixes / Bot now wil I declar quhat p*er*soun*is* þe prince suld no*cht* admyt to his counsal / in the fyrst fulis and me*n* of na knawlage suld no*cht* be counsalo*uris* to princ*is* / þis is in the self manifest for þai haue nowthir wisdome na prudence / þe prince suld no*cht* thole flatterou*ris* be of his counsale Tule þe oratur sais *quod* *nulla* 'est'[5] [356r] *capitalior pestis in amicicia quam adulacio*[6] And sa it is in counsall þe flatterou*r* schawis to þe prince na thing bot it þat may ples him / bot the haly and wys king Sanct dauid þe prophet askit at god counsalo*uris* to argvne him and tell him þe verite and no*cht* to flatt*er* or dissaif him '*p*salmus' / *Corripi(e)t*[7] *me iustus in m*isericord*ia*|[8] *oleum autem peccatoris i.e. adulacio non impinguet capud meum*[9] Alsua the noble king or prince suld no*cht* tak his auld innemy þat is recounsalit to him of his tendyr and sacret counsale / for þar remanis ȝit ane euill rute in his mynd and mony thing*is* that he dois to þe prince he dois be dissimilacioun / bot and he my*cht* se his tyme the prince suld be war w^{t} him The prince suld haue nane of his counsale þat ar sone chargit w^{t}

aill or wyn / na to þame suld na sacret counsal be reuelit / for na sacret is kepit w^{t} þame / as Salamon sais / and it is ma*n*ifest be exp*er*ie*n*s / and the counsale of þe prince suld be sacret Alsua the noble prince suld no*ch*t tak of his counsal þe pe*r*soun*is* þat counsalis him a thing sacretlie / and opinly þai counsale the contrar for þir p*er*soun*is* wsis nothir in wertu na verite Alsua the king suld no*ch*t wse the counsale of synnar*is* and euill lyffar*is* or wykit me*n* / for *com*monly þer^{t} pe*r*soun*is* ar full of fraude and decepcioun / and sa is þar counsall and of þe gud we*r*tuis king sais þe prophet *beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum*/[2] And to þe thrid punct þe king and prince / suld wislie examyn his co*n*sale [356v] þat is gevin to him in the first he suld consid*er* gif we*r*ray treuth be said to him of the thing þat he desirit counsal of for þe persoune / þat desir*is* counsale suld propone his mat*er* in verite w^{t}out ony dissimilacioun or ficcioun And the gud counsalour*is* suld ansuer be verite And eftir þis þe prince suld consid*er* / gif ressoune inclynis to vse and do all thing þat is counsalit to him And gif his power extend*is* þar to / And gif þe counsale stand in diuisioun þe prince suld consid*er* / quhat p*ar*t hald*is* þai þat ar lelest wisest and of maist exp*er*iens / And he suld consid*er* of quhilk counsale is abill to folow maist surte hono*ur* & proffit and w^{t} les p*er*ell or danger And of all thir þe prince suld euir ches þe best and principalie gif he can cu*m* to þe end and p*er*feccioun þarof / bot and the prince se aperandlie / þat þar is gret dout or p*er*ell in þe mat*er* or þat he can no*ch*t cum to þe end and p*er*feccioun of þe werk / þat he proponis / or þat þe counsale ordanis or þat þar wauld folow mar lak or dampnage na proffit or hono*ur* þan war bett*ir* to leif and no*ch*t begin / na to forthink gretlie eft*ir*wert And þa*n* war expedie*n*t and proffitable to chang þe counsal w^{t}out ony lak or repruf / for quhe*n* a ma*n* sais þat he can no*ch*t cum to þe hono*ur* na proffit þat he prete*n*dit / bot gret lak and skaith he wauld incur be werray necessite followand þat purpose / þan suld he chang*e* his purpos *q*uia *sapientis est mutare propositum*/[3] Or gif he knawis a gret erro*ur* or decepcioun in the counsale / þan he may change it / for and he knaw gret [357r] dishono*ur* in it for the law sais / *In mal(is)*[4] *promissis rescinde fidem in turpi voto muta decretum* / Or gif þe thing þat þou proponis to do be inpossible or may no*ch*t gudlie

be done / þan þou suld change þi purpos and proced be bett*ir* purpos and wisar counsale for þe counsal þat is tane and concludit sa star(k)lie[1] þat it sal no*ch*t be changeit for na condicioun / or thing þat may be or happi*n* þat counsale is wranguis and inproffitable / And Souuerane lord thir reulis and doctrynis ar led fra þe fonten and well of þe noble lady and morall wertu dame prudence / and þai may help þi hienes in þi tend*ir* age / And alsua quhe*n* þi hienes incress*is* to mar knawlage prudens 'ord*er*' and wisdome And þis laubour I haue takin for luf and se*r*uice of þi hienes and proffit of þi pepil and realme And hie and my*ch*tty prince and Souuerane lord I pray humely þi hienes to consider and wnd*er*stand / þat þis gret werk þat I haue tane to put in þis tovng and langag*e* þe gret mat*er*is of theologie proffitable to all þi peple to þar saluacioun / eft*ir* sex / ȝer*is* preichin in þi fader*is* realme and þine that thi nobilite and peple may in þar awne tovng knaw þe law of god and kep it þat s(t)and*is*[2] euir stark in the self / þo*ch*t þe pepil oftymes falȝe in transgressioun and breking of it / and happi*n* for þe faute of the kyrkme*n* þat suld be of gud lif / and gif exampill of gud lif to þe pepil / and syn eft*ir* prech þe wourd of god / for þe euuangell sais *incepit ihesus facere et docere*[3] And gif þi hienes acceppis þis laubo*ur* & werk |357v| þat has bene gret to me Consid*er*and þat I was thretty ȝer nurist in fraunce and in the noble study of paris in latin toung and knew no*ch*t the gret eloque*n*s of chauceir na colour*is* þat me*n* vsis in þ*is* inglis metir / þat gret clerk*is* mak*is* na covnt of And gif þi hienes accepis and approvis þis werk þi pepil of gud mynd will haue merit and proffit throw it / and a werk maid w[t] sic trauale for þi hienes and et*er*nal saluacioun of þi pepil suld no*ch*t be refusit w[t]out caus or gif þar war ⟨twa⟩ erro*ur*is in it / And Souuerane lord þis werk I maid in sic maner of speking as þe halysc*r*iptur and all maner of sciens is w*r*ittin in as I haue schawin befor And finaly consid*er*and þat I was mony ȝer*is* oratur to þe hie and noble prince þi fad*er* of hono*ur* and gud mynd in his realme and vtouth / ane*n*s the king*is* of fraunce ingland and vthir princ*is* and his confessour and tendir to þe noble lady and we*r*tuus quene þi moder And in þi ȝoutheid in a p*ar*t eft*ir* my opinioun lufit w[t] þi hienes / and desyr*is* no*ch*t bot to se*r*ue þi hienes in wertu in all maner þat I can gud ressoune wauld þat sic maner of me*n* suld be hard and þar se*r*uice thankfully

tane And Souerane lord þis werk I haue studiit and maid w^{t} gret laubour and submittis it to þe correccioun of þe halykyrk and me alsua / and to þe correccioun of þe kyrk of rome and all vthir / þat the |358r| correccioun of fautis pertenis to / bot I traist and it be correk writtin þar is na herrecy na errour in it bot þe haly doctrine of ihesu and verite And þar/for my purpos is to defend it gif ony man will argvne or condampne þe things writtin in it And considerand þat mony Errouris agane the faith and haly doctrine of ihesu and of the kyrk ar writtin in þis tounge and in inglis / at a part of the pepil of þi realme ar infekit w^{t}/ / it / suld be richt acceptable to þi hienes to þe kyrk of þi realme and all the pepil At a clerk of þi awne realme at has studiit and bene approvit in paris in his doctrine has maid sic a werk for distruccioun of þai Errouris and mony vthir and manifestacioun of the verite and haly doctrine of theologie in all things pertenand to þe faith and saluacioun of þi hienes and pepil And concludand I pray þe hie and noble king of para/dice w^{t} all humilite and deuocioun that he graunt þi hienes grace to gowerne þi persoune crovne and realme in sic wertu and maner / that þi clergy[1] barouns & pepil be reulit in wertu and iustice And quhar ressoune and discrecioun wauld / þou schaw þi mercy to þi pepil / and þat in þis mortale lif þi hienes live in wertu and grace in all honour and prosperite and finaly cum to þe eternall glor of paradice / Writtin & completit in Edinburgh be þi humyl orator iohne of irland greit and promouit in parys the ȝer of the incarnacioun a thowsand four hundreth & nynty ȝeris [358v]

Hoc[2] *opus fuit Compila|tum apud Edinburgh ob Reuerenciam nostri saluatoris domini ihesu et sue matris et pro vtilitate Scotorum Regis iacobi quarti Cleri*[3] *et tocius populi a magistro iohanne de irlan|dia sacre theologie 'professoure' pari|s(i)ensi*[4] *Rector de foresta anno gracie i m° cccc° lxxxx° Orate pro eo etc. deo gracias et sic est finis laus deo etc.*[5]

Alexander guthre off þat ilk knycht *armiger forma absolucionis dominus ihesus cristus te absoluat et ego autoritate ipsius & omni autoritate michi commissa te absoluo ab omnibus censuris si quam incurristi et eadem autoritate ego te absoluo ab omnibus peccatis tuis in nomine patris (e)t*[1] *filii et spiritus sancti amen*

[359v] *Obitus Alexandri e guthre de eodem militis et alexandri Strathachin de Balmady Apud bellum de brankstoun in Northumberland nono die mensis Septembris Anno domini j*[m] *v*[c] *decimotercio| | Orate pro eis etc. etc.*

[360r] *Cato corporis exigui vires contemnere nobili Consilio pollet cui vim natura negabus*[2]

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Abbreviations are as follows:

CC	*Corpus Christianorum*
OC 7	Jean Gerson's *Oeuvres Complètes*, vol. 7. Ed. M. Glorieux. Paris: Desclée & Cie, 1968.
Individual sermons by Gerson	
	DJ Diligite justiciam
	VR Vivat rex
	VP Veniat pax
	RISV Rex in sempiternum vive
	AE Adorabunt eum
PL	*Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*. Ed. J.-P. Migne.
ST	St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*
STS	Scottish Text Society

References to Ireland's commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard are from Aberdeen University Library MS 264.

TEXTUAL NOTES BOOK 6

p. 1
1 'Explicit...' is rubricated.
2 'T' is rubricated.
3 Space reserved for large intial. Place marked by 'i'.
4 'In...' is rubricated.
5 ' / data...' is rubricated.
6 In the top margin of the page is written 'l sext[us]'.

p. 4
1 A 'd' is written over a 'g'.

p. 5
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 't'.
2 'The...' is rubricated.
3 'quod...' is rubricated.
4 ' / quod...'is rubricated.
5 'subiectiue...' is rubricated.
6 '/hugo...' is rubricated.

p. 6
1 The tops of the catchwords 'for the spiritual lif is conforme' are barely legible.

p. 7
1 'Nisi...' is rubricated.
2 ' / Sedete...' is rubricated.
3 'io...' is rubricated.
4 'psalmus...' is rubricated.
5 ms: 'informatur'
6 'iacobi...' is rubricated.
7 'quis...' is rubricated.
8 'ro...' is rubricated.

p. 8
1 ' / Ex...' is rubricated.
2 ' / Agnus...' is rubricated.
3 ' / large...' is rubricated.

p. 9
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 's'.
2 'SEne...' is rubricated.
3 'psalmus...' is rubricated.
4 ' / Ego...' is rubricated.
5 'io...' is rubricated.
6 ' / psalmus...' is rubricated.

p. 11
1 '/1o...' is rubricated.
2 'de...' is rubricated.

3 'maiorus...' is rubricated.
4 ' / consepulti...' is rubricated.
5 'Baptizato...' is rubricated.

p. 12
1 ' / Ego...' is rubricated.
2 'extra...' is rubricated.
3 'Ego...' is rubricated.
4 'io...' is rubricated.
5 'Ad...' is rubricated.
6 ' / io...' is rubricated.

p. 13
1 ' / Nisi...' is rubricated.
2 ' / Confiteor...' is rubricated.

p. 14
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'i'.
2 'IN...' is rubricated.
3 'Non...' is rubricated.
4 ' / inuisibilia...' is rubricated.
5 ms: 'a/man'

p. 15
1 ms: Richt sa

p. 16
1 In the ms, 'vertuis' is written above 'werkis', which is lightly stricken out.

p. 19
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.

p. 21
1 ms: diete
2 ms: 'think'
3 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.

p. 22
1 Tops of the catchwords are visible, but only '-tiue' is legible.

p. 24
1 'vnioun' is probably meant for 'vnxioun'.
2 'mu' has only four minims in the ms.

p. 28
1 'No[tatu]r s[ecundum] (?)'added in the lefthand margin in a lighter ink.

p. 29
1 Space reserved for a large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 The 'r' is written over what appears to be 'll'.

p. 30
1 ms: 'diete'

p. 31
1 ms: 'comitanciam'
2 A scribal deletion of a blotted '4' follows 'propinquam'.
3 'qu[esti]o' is inserted in the lefthand margin.
4 'R[espo]n[si]o' is inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 32
1 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.
2 'in' is written over an erased 'And'.
3 The first 'i' in 'diuidyt' has an unnecessary ascending mark (cf. 'diuinite' below).
4 A loop appears above the 'm'.

p. 33
1 No virgule separates 'Richt' and 'sua', which appear on separate lines of the ms.
2 The 'i' has apparently been formed over a 'c'.
3 The 'i' has been written over another indecipherable letter.

p. 34
1 ms: 'name'

p. 35
1 The 'w' is written over a 'y'.
2 'ot' is written over other indecipherable letters.
3 The 'um' has an extra minim in the ms.

p. 36
1 ms: 'ik'
2 'a' is written over what appears to be the beginning of a 'w'.
3 The addition of another word linked to 'distruccioun' would improve the sense of the passage.

p. 37
1 The 'v' is written over an erasure, perhaps a 'þ', which in the ms is like a 'y'.
2 The catchwords 'to þe p[er]feccioun of þe sicht' are substantially intact.
3 An erasure precedes 'the'. The letters are indecipherable.

p. 38
1 Inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 40
1 Space reserved for a large initial. Place marked by a rubricated 'i'.

p. 41
1 The 'l' and 'v' are written over other letters, the 'v' apparently over a 'b'.

p. 42 **1** 'ar' follows an erasure.
2 ms: 'be foir'
3 'eftir' has been converted from another word.
4 Inserted in the lefthand margin. ms: 'his his'

p. 44 **1** Space reserved for a large initial. Place marked by 'i'.
2 Inserted in the righthand margin, but scribally deleted.
3 The 'umi' has an extra minim in the ms.

p. 45 **1** The 'w' is blotted and appears to have been written over another letter.
2 ms: 'merita'
3 No virgule separates 'for' and 'think', which appear on separate lines of the ms.
4 No virgule separates 'mor' and 'tall', which appear on separate lines of the ms.

p. 47 **1** A caret has been deleted in the ms.
2 Inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 49 **1** Various indecipherable marks appear at the top and bottom of the page.

p. 50 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 't'.

p. 52 **1** 'gyfte' is blurred and appears to have been written over other letters.

p. 53 **1** The tops of the catchwords are barely visible.

p. 54 **1** 'ad' written over another word apparently ending in 't'.

p. 56 **1** The deleted 'v' appears to have a loop above it, but the ms is blotted.
2 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.

p. 58 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 ms: 'waurdly'
3 'perfeccion' has been written over another word ('persoune' ?).

p. 59 **1** Inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 61 **1** An 'f' has been erased before the 'or'.

p. 62 **1** The word following 'tue', apparently a faulty abbreviation for 'misericordie', is deleted in the ms.

p. 63 **1** ms: 'inseparaly'. An alternate spelling could be 'inseparatly'.

p. 64 **1** The caret has been inadvertently placed before 'fyr' in the ms.
2 Inserted in the lefthand margin. 'fyr' has inadvertently been blotted in the ms.
3 Inserted in the righthand margin.

p. 66 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.

p. 68 **1** The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.
2 The catchword 'desyr' is visible. Those following are less easily discernible.
3 The 'nn' has three minims in the ms.

p. 69 **1** ms: 'remittentur eiis'
2 ms: 'patris'

p. 70 **1** ms: 'celerum'; for 'distribere', Virgil has 'comprendere'
2 ms: 'possem'
3 ms: 'preterire'
4 ms: 'queque'
5 Written over an erasure.
6 Probably should read 'v' since Ireland has listed only four motives thus far.
7 'bot' has been stricken out and 'for' added in a lighter ink.
8 The 'iou' is illegible. 'n' has a mark ascending clockwise above it and a descending stroke following it, both in lighter ink.

p. 71 **1** The 'um' has an extra minim in the ms.
2 'ini' has an extra minim in the ms.
3 A mark appears above the second minim of the 'u', making it appear like an 'i'.

p. 72 **1** Inserted in the lefthand margin.
2 The 'um' has only four minims in the ms.
3 The 'umi' has only five minims in the ms.

p. 73 **1** Inserted in the lefthand margin.
2 ms: 'iocobi'
3 The 'r' is superscript, but abbreviation is unnecessary.

p. 74 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 's'.
2 Although the usual spelling in *DOST* is 'misere', there is no abbreviation for 'e'.

p. 78 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'i'.
2 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.
3 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.

p. 79 **1** Inserted in the lefthand margin.
2 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.

p. 80 **1** The passage seems garbled. The sense would be improved by substituting 'na' (than) for 'and'.
2 Inserted in the righthand margin.

p. 81 **1** The text seems garbled here. 'of' should probably read 'or'.
2 Inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 82 In the ms, no virgule follows 'impe', although 'diment' occurs on the following line.

p. 84 **1** Inserted in the righthand margin.

p. 86 **1** The 'l' has been written over an 'r'.

p. 87 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 ms: 'in in' on separate pages.

p. 88 **1** The 'w' is written over an erasure.

p. 89 The 'n' is written over a 't'.

p. 90 **1** The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.
2 Inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 91 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.
3 The 'r' is written over a mark ascending from the 'a'.

p. 92 **1** The mark of abbreviation for the 'er' is blurred. No virgule occurs at the end of the line to hyphenate the word.
2 'Et A' is written over another word.
3 'foundment' is written above 'power', which is retained, probably inadvertently, in the ms.

p. 93 **1** The 'um' has an extra minim in the ms.

p. 94 **1** ms: 'comporable'. Not in *DOST* or *OED*.
2 'þe' is written over another word.
3 The sense of the passage would be improved if 'ȝit the power' were deleted.

p. 95 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 't'.
2 'e' has been written over what appears to have been a 'd'.

p. 96 **1** Tops of some of the catchwords are visible, but the words themselves are illegible.
2 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.

p. 97 **1** Inserted in the lefthand margin.
2 'be iunyt' is smeared but still legible.

p. 98 **1** Inserted in the lefthand margin.
2 '-unyt' has been written over an erasure.
3 'sua' has been written over an erasure.

p. 100 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 The 'u' could be read as an 'e', thus rendering 'spe[ci]al'.
3 The 'is' of 'helpis' is erased but still visible.
4 ms: 'flesly'

p. 101 **1** ms: 'thinkis'
2 An erasure with a mark of abbreviation supra precedes 'ordinatlie'.

p. 102 **1** 'is' has been converted to the symbol for 'id est'.
2 The symbol for 'id est' has been converted to 'is'.

p. 103 **1** An extra minim occurs after the 'm'.

CRITICAL NOTES BOOK 6

1.18 *data est* ... Matt. 28.18

1.19 *factus est* ... Phil. 2.9

1.21 'artikle of the faith': cf. *Meroure* 3.11 (Quinn, ed., vol. 2, pp. 52–60)

1.28 Aristotle's teaching on the knowledge of the invisible by means of the visible is to be found in *Physica* 1 (184a).

5.05 *quod sacramentum* ... *De civitate dei* 10.5 (*PL* 41.282)

5.08 *quod sacramentum* ... *Sentences* of Peter Lombard 4.1.2

5.26 Hugh of St. Victor discusses baptism in *De sacramentis* 2.6; see especially cc. 2–6, 14.

5.27 The reference to the *Sentences* is to 4.1.1.

6.11 The seven sins and penalties are discussed by St. Thomas in *ST* 3.65.1.

6.38 *Nisi quis renatus* ... John 3.5

7.04 *Sedete in ciuitate* ... Luke 24.49

7.06 *Nisi manducaueritis* ... John 6.54

7.09 *Sana animam* ... Ps. 40(41).5

7.10 *Penitenciam agite* ... Matt. 4.17

7.13 *Infirmatur quis* ... James 5.14

7.21 *quis potest* ... Mark 2.7

7.28 The reference to Book 22 of Augustine's *De civitate dei* is more accurately ascribed to 15.26 (*PL* 41.472-3).

7.36 *vbi habundauit* ... Rom. 5.20

8.02 *Ex latere* ... John 19.34

8.08 *Agnus dei* ... John 1.29

9.07 *Ecce enim* ... Ps. 50(51).7

9.14 *Ego te baptizo* ... For the form of baptism, cf. *Pontificale Romanum* (1818) 4.5; and 'In S. Gregorii *Librum Sacramentorum* Notae', by D. Hugo Menardo (*PL* 78.343 ff.).

9.25 *dedit eis* ... John 1.12–13

9.29 *lauabis me* ... Ps 50(51).9

9.29 *qui crediderit* ... Mark 16.16

11.10 *Sicut in Adam* ... 1 Cor. 15.22

11.16 The reference to the Clementinae is to '*Summa christianite & fide catholica*' 1.1.

11.21 *maioris de baptismo* ... Gregory's *Decretales* 3.42.3 '*De baptismo et eius effectu*'

11.27 *Consepulti enim* ... Rom. 6.4

11.33 *Baptizato enim* ... Matt. 3.16

12.07 *extra de baptismo* ... Clement. 3.15 '*De baptismo et eius effectu*' allows

for two exceptions to baptism in the church building, the baptism of a prince and the baptism of one whose life is in peril.

12.25 *soleuciani*: The Seleucians, named after their leader Seleucus, were a Gnostic sect in Galatia in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. Cf. Quinn, ed., *Meroure*, vol. 2, p. 165, n. 49.2.

12.27 *Nisi quis* ... John 3.3

12.29 donatistis: A sect that flourished in the 4th century and argued that the validity of the sacraments depended upon the spiritual condition of both the minister and the recipient.

12.32 *vna fides* ... Eph. 4.5

12.35 *Super quem* ... John 1.33

13.04 pelagius: A British monk, excommunicated in 418 for beliefs that denied original sin and affirmed that man could achieve salvation through his own efforts. Pelagianism resurfaced in the later Middle Ages and was attacked by Thomas Bradwardine in his book *De causa dei contra Pelagium*. Even Chaucer mentions the debate in his 'Nun's Priest's Tale', *CT* VII, 3234–3250. See Quinn's edition, p. 131.22 and note.

13.07 *Nisi quis* ... John 3.5

13.08 *qui crediderit* ... Mark 16.16

13.10 *Confiteor vnum baptisma* ... Nicene Creed

14.10 *Non enim ... Physica* 1.1 (184a). The notion is also expressed in *Metaphysica* 1.1 and *Analytica Posteriora* 2.19.

14.14 *inuisibilia dei* ... Rom. 1.20

16.05 *Consigno te signo* ... For the form of confirmation, cf. *Pontificale Romanum* (1818) 1.3, 4.25; and 'In S. Gregorii *Librum Sacramentorum* Notae', by D. Hugo Menardo (*PL* 78.352).

17.18 'takin of þat realme': Ireland identifies the banners of three kingdoms: 'Sanct andros cors', Scotland; 'Sanct denys', France; and 'sanct georgis cors', England. R. J. Lyall would draw our attention to Ireland's order, presumably of descending importance. Cf. Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, vol. 2, ed. John Cartwright, STS 4.16 (1986), p. 163, which refers to the first two in the same order. Hay, according to the work, had spent twenty-four years in France.

17.26 *iudeis scandalum* ... 1 Cor. 1.23

17.28 *quia nobis* ... cf. 1 Cor. 1.21, 24

18.01 *quia fores* ... John 20.19

18.03 *Sedete in ciuitate* ... Luke 24.49

18.07 *quia loquebantur* ... Acts 4.31

18.08 *Ibant apostoli* ... Acts 5.41

18.13 *de consecracioune ... Decretum*, dist. 5, c. 5, *de cons.*

18.15 *Et septiformis gracia* ... Rabanus *De institutione clericorum* 1.30 (*PL* 107.314)

18.21 'þe grekis': A reference to the Eastern Orthodox Church's practice of allowing the priest to administer the sacrament of confirmation.

18.23 *armacanus primas ybernie*: Richard Fitzralph (1295–1360), Arch-

bishop of Armagh. His treatise, *Summa in quaestionibus Armenorum* 11.1–7, reveals his sympathy for the Greek error on confirmation. See Katherine Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard Fitzralph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), pp. 129–81, esp. 149–50.

18.28 *Et vbi apostoli* ... Acts 8.17–18

19.25 The reference to Aristotle is to *Politica* 1.2; 7.2.

22.35 'wil' is a transitive verb.

23.03 *Propter nostrum* ... Aristotle's *Perearminias* (*De interpretatione*) 9 (18b39–19a1)

23.06 *quia ipse* ... Gen. 1.3

23.14 *quia non erit* ... Luke 2.37

24.03 'þe breid of quhete sustenis þe body and the wyn blithis þe persoune'—an echo of Ps. 103(104):15 (I am grateful to Prof. J. H. Burns for pointing this reference out.)

24.23 *Sicut per vnum* ... 1 Cor. 15.21–22

24.31 The reference to Aristotle is to *Physica* 2.8, which explains that matter is subject to form, and to *De anima* 2.4, which describes the soul as the source and essence of the body.

25.05 *quod contraria* ... cf. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 1.14 (*CC* 32.13); and Chaucer, 'Tale of Melibee' (*CT* VII, 1276)

25.27 *Verbum caro* ... John 1.14

29.07 'master of the sentens': Peter Lombard (c. 1100–1160), author of *The Book of the Sentences*, a principal theological textbook during the later Middle Ages. Ireland's commentary on Books 3 and 4 survive in the Aberdeen University Library, MS 264. His commentary on the first two books has not been discovered. The reference is to 2.30.14 15; 31.1–7.

29.16 *vna caro* ... cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* 1a2ae 81.1

31.14 *Ego sum* ... John 6.35

31.18 *hic est* ... Matt. 26.28, Mark 14.24

31.19 *qui de celo* ... John 6.38

32.12 *Oportet enim* ... A statement with a proverbial ring to it. See Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. 1.

32.27 *Memoriam fecit* ... This follows roughly Ps. 144(145).7–8.

33.26 ff. In his commentary to the *Sentences* (ff. 208r., 211r.–211v.), Ireland attributes the reference to the shattered mirror to St. Augustine; but see St. Thomas, *ST* 3a 76.3, who does not name the source, and who refutes the analogy.

35.01 *Ego sum* ... John 6.51–52

35.05 *litigabant ergo* ... John 6.53

35.07 *dixit ergo* ... John 6.54–55

35.13 *Caro mea* ... John 6.56

35.25 *Si non crederitis* ... The corollary of St. Anselm's famous proposition in *Proslogion* 1.227, based on Is. 7.9. Cf. Gerson, *Diligite justiciam*, *OC* 7.601.

37.03 *fides non habet* ... St. Gregory, *40 Homiliarum in Evangelia* 2, Homily 26 on John 20.19–31 (*PL* 76.1197)

37.27 ff. References for the Biblical transformations are as follows:

the rod of Moses into a serpent—Ex. 4.2–4; 7.10
water into blood Ex. 7.17–21
the powder into flies (the plagues of the flies and lice in Egypt)—Ex. 8.16–24
Lot's wife into salt —Gen. 19.26
the budding of Aaron's rod—Num. 17
parting of the Red Sea—Ex. 14.21
parting of the Jordan—Josh 3.16; 2 Kings 2.8
the dead raised—numerous references. Some of the more important are Elijah and the widow's son (1 Kings 17.17–24); Jairus' daughter (Matt. 9.18–25; Mark 5.22–43; Luke 8.41–56); Jesus and the widow's son (Luke 7.12-16); Lazarus (John 11.1–45); Dorcas (Acts 9.36–41); and Eutychus (Acts 20.9-12).
the sun standing still—Josh. 10.12–14

38.01 The story of Diomede is found in *De ciuitate dei* 18.16–18 (*PL* 41.573–6).

38.03 The story of Ulysses is found in *Aeneid* 7.19–20 and *Eclogue* 8.70.

38.06 The word 'awne' (ass) suggests that Ireland is referring to Apuleius' *Metamorphosis* (*The Golden Ass*) rather than Apollonius.

38.33 *Capitulo cum marte*: *Decretales* 3.41.6 '*De celebratione missam*'

39.05 *Caro non* ... John 6.64

40.06 Alexander of Hailes comments on the Eucharist in his *Universae Theologiae Summa* 4.10. St. Bonaventure's comments are to be found in his commentary on Lombard's *Sentences* 4.8–13, particularly 4.8.1.1.

40.15 *Accipite et manducate* ... 1 Cor. 11.24 (cf. Mark 14.22; Matt. 26.26)

40.17 *quidam spiritualiter* ... Ireland discusses the three modes of receiving the Eucharist in his commentary to Book 4 of Lombard's *Sentences* (AUL MS 264, ff. 202r.–202v.).

40.30 *gracia & veritas* ... John 1.17

41.01 *hoc quotiescumque* ... 1 Cor. 11.24–26

41.29 *laicus non debet* ... Council of Constance, Session 13, 15 June 1415, recorded in *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo, 2nd ed. (Basel, 1962). A similar pronouncement was made at Basel during the 30th session, 23 Dec. 1437.

42.31 *berangarius*: Berengar of Tours (d. 1088) was involved in a controversy concerning the real presence of Christ's body at the Eucharist. Accused of heresy, he was forced to recant, and in 1059 he made his famous 'Confession', found in Lanfranc, '*De corpore et sanguine domini*' (*PL* 150.410), affirming Christ's real presence in the bread and the wine after consecration. For a discussion of the debate and its consequences, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine, Vol. 3: The*

Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300), Chicago, 1978, pp. 184–204. Ireland treats the subject in ff. 141r.–141v. and 223r. of his commentary to Book 4 of the *Sentences*.

42.36 *Caro mea* ... John 6.56

43.02 Ireland is presumably referring to Aquinas' *Officium Sancti Sacramenti*, although Aquinas deals with the sacraments in his *Summa Theologiae* 3a 60–90.

43.08 Ireland's 'buk in latyn' is lost, and Quinn (*Meroure*, vol. 2, pp. 160–61n.) conjectures that this is the same work 'of þe haly sacrament of the altar', mentioned on p. 34 of the same volume.

44.27 *Sacrificium deo* ... Ps. 50(51).19

44.30 *quia non* ... See St. Augustine, *Epist.* 98.9 (*PL* 33.363).

45.17 The story of Judas during Christ's Passion is recorded in Matt. 27.3–5.

45.22 *forme dantur* ... I have not been able to locate this precise reference, although the notion is implied throughout Plato's *Timaeus*. Form can refer to shape or to the soul, an imitation of the divine idea. With regard to the first, we find that the earth has been given an appropriate form (*'formamque dedit ei congruam'*—33b). In 41–42, Plato speaks of those whose shapes are transformed by their failure to live appropriately. As to the second, we find Chalcidius stating (*Commentary* 222), *'homo animal certe est, et est ut siluestris et materialis essentia, et haec conposita ex materia formaque, quippe ex corpore constat et anima; ergo corpus eius materia est, anima uero siue forma'* (*Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*, ed. J. H. Waszink (London, Leiden: 1962), pp. 25, 236).

45.23 *Actus actiuorum* ... *De anima* 2.5 (417a)

48.16 *contraria contrariis curantur* ... cf. Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* 1.14; and Chaucer, 'Melibee', *CT* VII.1276

50.26 *Secunda tabula* ... Jerome, *Translation of the Homilies of Origen*, Hom. 10 on Ez. 16 (PL 25.761), in Lombard's *Sentences* 4.14.1

52.29 *faciamus hominem* ... Gen. 1.26; 9.6

54.15 *Mors peccatorum pessima* ... Ps. 33(34).22

55.28 *Probet autem* ... 1 Cor. 11.28–9

56.14 *Omnis vtriusque* ... *Decretales* 5.38.12

56.28 'twa bukis': J. H. Burns, in 'John Ireland and "The Meroure of Wyssdome"', *Innes Review*, 6 (1955), 97, and in an unpublished paper identifies both of these as 'Of Penance and Confession', found in the Asloan MS, ff. 1–40 (ed. W. A. Craigie, STS, 1923–25). The work is divided into two parts, the second being 'the tabill of Confessioun'. But R. J. Lyall has argued that the first, a book 'of the commandmentis and vthir thingis pertenand to þe saluacioun of man', is probably another lost work.

56.33 *Ego absoluo te* ... For the form of the absolution, cf. *Pontificale Romanum* (1818) 3.28–29; and 'In S. Gregorii *Librum Sacramentorum* Notae', by D. Hugo Menardo (*PL* 78.447).

57.01 *nouatiniani*: Novatian, the first anti-pope, who left the Church in

251 over the issue of readmitting those who had recanted their faith during persecution.

57.05 *Memor esto* ... Rev. 2.5

59.01, 59.08 *auersio ab incommutabili* ... ; *Auersio a bono* ... see St. Thomas Aquinas, *ST* 3a 86.4: *'in peccato mortali sunt duo, scilicet aversio ab incommutabili bono, et conversio ad commutabile bonum inordinata'* (cf. 1a2ae 87.4)

61.08 *Si ascendero* ... Ps. 138(139).8–10

61.24 *vasa gracie* ... cf. Rom. 9.23

62.04 *domine ne* ... Ps. 6.2

62.09 *Quoniam non est* ... Ps. 6.6

62.11 *in inferno* ... Ps. 6.6

62.13 *laboraui in gemitu* ... Ps. 6.7

62.33 *quantum in deliciis* ... Rev. 18.7

63.18 *apud centrum terre*: cf. Jerome, *Commentariorum in Jonam Liber* 2 (*PL* 25.1133). Ireland discusses the stages of Hell in Book 5.8 of the *Meroure*. See Quinn, pp. 35–8 and notes.

64.12 *quicquid potest* ... cf. Aquinas, *ST* 1a 105.6: *'Potuisset enim et alium ordinem rerum instituere; unde et potest paeter hunc ordinem institutum agere, cum voluerit; puta agendo effectus secundarum causarum sine ipsis vel producendo aliquos effectus ad quos causae secundae non se extendunt.'* For the nature of eternal torment, see *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1939), s.v. *'Feu de l'Enfer'*, by A. Michel.

66.19 *iniquos odio habui* ... Ps. 118(119).113

66.21 *Cor contritum* ... Ps. 50(51).19

66.28 *dixi confitebor* ... Ps. 31(32).5

68.10 *qui plantauit* ... Ps. 93(94).9, 11

69.02 *vniuerse vie* ... Ps. 24(25).10

69.04 *quod deus semper premiat* ... cf. Peter Lombard, *Sentences* 4.47.1.1 on general judgement. For a discussion of the theological issues, see *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, s.v. *'Jugement synthèse Théologique: Jugement Général'*.

69.15 *quorum remiseritis* ... John 20.23

69.35 *iubiter tonat* ... The sentiments of this statement are to be found in Aristotle's *De mundo* 6–7.

69.36 *longe michi* ... Sallust, *Cat.* 52.2

69.38 ff. Cicero's *Disputationes Tusculanarum* 1 and Macrobius' commentary on *Somnium Scipionis* 1.11.1–2; 2.17.3, 13, both discuss issues of death and punishment. Plato discusses divine punishment in *De respublica* 10 (615a–b). Ireland likely refers either to Juvenal's Satire 13 or to his Satire 2.152–3, which was misread by the 13th-c. monk Helinard. See Gilbert Highet, *Juvenal the Satirist* (New York) 1954, 201–2. The reference to Virgil is *Aen.* 6.625–7.

70.12 *quis est* ... cf. Ps. 88(89).49

70.15 *breues dies* ... Job 14.5

70.18 *Stat sua* ... Virgil, *Aen.* 10.467–9

71.04 *Non corruptibili* ... 1 Peter 1.18

71.31 *quam commutacionem* ... Matt. 16.26

72.13 *Surgite post quam* ... Ps. 126(127).2–3

73.19 'bukis of the sentens': Lombard's *Sentences*. See note to 29.07.

73.21 ff. 'gretest clerkis': I am grateful to Professor Burns for help in identifying many of the following names.

'Sanct thomas': Thomas Aquinas (d.1274), foremost interpreter and synthesizer of Aristotle

'scot': John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), British Franciscan, termed '*doctor subtilis*'

'Okam': William of Ockham (d. 1347), English Franciscan, leading proponent of medieval nominalism

'holcot': Robert Holcot (d. 1349), Dominican, Cambridge nominalist

'helefac': Robert of Halifax (d. c. 1357), English Franciscan, master at Oxford

'bokingame': Thomas of Buckingham (c. 1290–1351), fellow of Merton College, opposed Bradwardine in the matter of theological determinism

'caton': Walter of Chatton (c. 1285–1343), Franciscan, opponent to Ockham

'belengem': Richard Billingham (mid 14th c.), fellow of Merton College, one of the Oxford Calculators

'adam': Adam Wod(c)ham (c. 1295–1358), English Franciscan, studied under Ockham, opponent to Bradwardine

de hoeta: Henry of Oyta. Actually, there were two. Henry Totting of Hoyta (d. 1397) taught at Paris, Prague, and Vienna. Henry Pape of Oyta was also teaching at Prague at the same time as Totting.

de aliato: Peter d'Ailly (1350–1420), Chancellor of the Univ. of Paris and a leading conciliarist in the Great Schism

'io ersone': John Gerson (1363–1429), conciliarist, reformer, mystic; Chancellor of the Univ. of Paris, succeeding Peter d'Ailly. His influence on Ireland was great. Book seven of the *Meroure* contains translations of substantial portions of no less than five of Gerson's French sermons. See the introduction.

73.23 'an vthir werk maid in latyn': Identified by J. H. Burns as *De speciali auxilio*, described in Aberdeen Univ. Library MS 264, f. 64r.

73.25 'the buk þat I maid in the castell of Edinburgh': R. J. Lyall suggests that this is probably the same work mentioned on 43.08.

73.34 *quia regi* ... 1 Tim. 1:17

77.13 *Per istam vnccionem* ... For the form of the last rites, cf. *Pontificale Romanum* tit. '*De officio in feria V. Coenae Domini*'; and 'In S. Gregorii *Librum Sacramentorum* Notae', by D. Hugo Menardo (*PL* 78.263–582).

79.31 *quasi membrum* ... 1 Cor. 12.27

83.03 *Super cathedram* ... Matt. 23.2–3

83.11 *Tu es petrus* ... Matt. 16.18–19

83.16 *Sacerdocium Christi* ... cf. Heb. 5.6

83.18 *Ego vobiscum* ... Matt. 28.20

83.27 *Paruulus natus* ... Is. 9.6–7

83.33 *dabit ei dominus* ... Luke 1.32–33

83.37 The Church in its 'mekle nobillar stat' is described in Rev. 21–22.

84.02 *Et super hanc petram* ... Matt. 16.18

84.07 *Tibi dabo* ... Matt. 16.19; cf. Rev. 1.18

84.28 *Obedite prepositis* ... Heb. 13.17

84.29 'iohnne wicleif of ingland': John Wycliffe (1324-84), Oxford reformer and theologian, whose heretical propositions concerning spiritual authority, interpreting Scripture, and the efficacy of the sacraments were condemned at London in 1382 and at the Council of Constance in 1415. Ireland treats the heresy of Wycliffe and the Bohemians (see next note) in his commentary on Book 4 of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (AUL MS 264, f. 136r.). The relevant passage has been underlined in that MS.

84.36 *iohannes huse* and *ieronimus de praga*: John Hus and Jerome of Prague, both followers of Wycliffe, who were condemned by the Council of Constance in 1415 and burned as heretics.

85.06 *Probet autem* ... 1 Cor. 11.28–29

85.25 *Cum esset* ... John 11.15

85.29 *amen dico* ... Matt. 26.64

85.32 *Non haberes* ... John 19.11

85.37 *Fratres nesciebam* ... Acts 23.5

86.15 For Ireland's treatment of Wycliffe's heresies in the commentary on the *Sentences*, see note to 84.29.

87.26 Chrysostom's work is entitled *De sacerdotio*.

88.04 The seven grades of holy orders are outlined in Hugo of St. Victor's *De sacramentis* 2.3.5 (*PL* 176.423), as well as Lombard's *Sentences*, 4.24.5–11.

88.32 *Sacerdos ineternum* ... Ps. 109(110).4; cf. Heb. 5.6; 7.17

88.33 *quia est pontifex* ... Heb. 4:14

90.01 'sanct clement': Clement of Rome (fl. c. 96), probably the third bishop of Rome. Tradition held him to be the spokesman for Apostolic teaching.

90.03 'sanct deonys in fraunce': Dionysius of Paris (c. 250), associated with Dionysius the Areopagite and the pseudo-Areopagite; traditionally believed to have been sent by Clement to France in 90. Patron saint of France.

90.17 *Tu vocaberis* ... John 1.42

90.17 *pasce oues meas* ... John 21.15-17 with gloss

94.13 *Accipe potestatem* ... For the form of ordination, cf. *Pontificale Romanum* (1818) 1.46; and 'In S. Gregorii *Librum Sacramentorum* Notae', by D. Hugo Menardo (*PL* 78.491).

94.17 Arrius—Aerius (not to be confused with Arius), a heretic of the 4th century, who argued that priests held the same dignity as bishops. For details of his life and beliefs, see *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, s.v. *'Aerius, Aeriens'*. For *Armachanus*, see note to 18.23.

95.10 *Crescite et multiplicamini* ... Gen. 1.28

97.01 *quos deus* ... Matt. 19.6; Mark 10.9

97.26 *Nam sicut* ... Athanasian Creed

99.05 *Ego autem dico* ... Eph. 5.32

101.15 *fides proles et sacramentum* See St. Augustine, *De bono conjugali* 24 (*'Haec omnia bona sunt, propter quae nuptiae bonae sunt: proles, fides, Sacramentum'—PL* 40.294).

102.05 *in Christo* ... Eph. 5.32

102.11 The anecdote about the creation of woman can be found in the *Sentences* 2.18.2

103.10 *Astitit regina* ... Ps. 44(45).10

103.12 *Audi filia* ... Ps. 44(45).11–12

103.22 *Cacianorum*: a reference to John Cassian (c. 360–435), a monk and ascetic at Marseilles; credited with founding semi-Pelagianism

103.25 *mulier non* ... 1 Cor. 7.28

103.26 *iouiniane*: Jovinian (d. c. 405), an Italian ascetic, whose views on marriage and asceticism were attack by Jerome. Excommunicated for his beliefs.

103.28 *quia paulus* ... 1 Cor. 7.7

103.30 *nicholaitarum*: the Nicolaitans (Rev. 2:6, 15), a sect in Asia Minor known for its licentiousness.

103.33 *Relinquet homo* ... Gen. 2.24 (cf. Matt. 19.5; Mark 10.7; Eph. 5:31)

103.35 Plato's doctrine of communal marriage, espoused in *De respublica* 4–5 and *Timaeus* 18. Aristotle condemns the practice in *Pol.* 2.1–6, and in *Oeconomica* 1.3–4 he comments on the nobility of marriage.

TEXTUAL NOTES BOOK 7

p. 105
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by rubricated 'd'.
2 'Diligitis...' is rubricated.

p. 106
1 ms: 'boicius'
2 An 'is' is probably missing after 'iustice'.
3 'humanite' is transformed into 'humane'.
4 The word deleted is barely legible.

p. 107
1 The 'un' has only three minims; a scribal deletion follows 'is'.
2 The 'o' has been written over another letter.

p. 108
1 'is' is written over an erasure.
2 Ane 'e' has been formed, apparently over an 'i'.
3 Inserted in the lefthand margin

p. 109
1 Inserted in the lefthand margin
2 The 'e' has apparently been written over another letter.
3 In Gerson, the reference is to *Rhetorica* 1 (*OC* 7.606).
4 ms: 'tuscalaius'
5 In Gerson, the reference is to *Aeneid* 5 (*OC* 7.606).

p. 110
1 Several vertical strokes intersect with the tail of the 't'.
2 The tops of the catchwords 'wnderstanding naturall' are visible.
3 'quia...' is rubricated.

p. 111
1 'homo...' is rubricated.
2 'quia...' is rubricated.

p. 112
1 'Potestas...' is rubricated.
2 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.
3 The 'un' has only three minims in the ms.
4 'Nec...' is rubricated.
5 'diligite...' is rubricated.

p. 113
1 ms: 'iustice'
2 'Et...' is rubricated.
3 'qui' is rubricated.

p. 115
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'e'.
2 'Eftyr...' is rubricated.
3 The 'i' is written over an 'e'.
4 ms: most certainly 'decrimentum'

p. 116
1 The abbreviation for psalmus is inadvertently used.
2 ms: 'omnie'

p. 117
1 The Psalm reads 'contempcio'. Ireland follows Gerson here (*OC* 7.1142).
2 ms: 'delerant'
3 ms: 'plectuntur in achiui'
4 ms: 'senistris'
5 ms: 'regnis'
6 A caret has been inserted before the virgule, but no addition to the text has been made.

p. 118
1 Though on separate lines, 'be' and 'tuix' have no virgule separating them.
2 The 'c' has been written over an erasure.
3 Gerson: 'sept' (*OC* 7.1164)

p. 120
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 't'.
2 ms: 'discreberetur'

p. 122
1 ms: 'divam'
2 The tops of the catchwords 'distroy' and 'gif' are barely visible.

p. 123
1 Apparently a scribal error. The lower classes are usually described as the legs.
2 The initial 'p' has been written over another letter, apparently 'f'.

p. 124
1 ms: 'omnie'
2 ms: 'omnie'

p. 126
1 'Sicut...' is rubricated.
2 'disciplina...' is rubricated.

p. 127
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 'And...'is rubricated.
3 '&...' is rubricated.
4 After Gerson, *OC* 7.1155.
5 'seruus...' is rubricated.

p. 128 **1** The 'p' has been written over another letter, like 'f' or a long 's'.
2 'statuam...' is rubricated.
3 'et...' is rubricated.
4 'Si...' is rubricated.
5 'deuteronomium xviio...' is rubricated.

p. 129 **1** An extra minim has been added to the 'n' in 'apon'. The ms is blotted here.
2 'dauid' has been written over an erasure.
3 'propter...' is rubricated.
4 'hoc...' is rubricated.
5 'quod...' is rubricated.
6 'Omnia...' is rubricated.

p. 130 **1** 'En...' is rubricated. The 'ro' of 'producit' has been marked over in brown ink.
2 ms: 'in visis'
3 'O...' is rubricated.
4 ' / Nil...' is rubricated.

p. 132 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 ms: 'and and'; 'Arestotill...' is rubricated.
3 'first' is probably a scribal error for 'fift'.
4 ms: 'lotrocinia'

p. 134 **1** 'g' is written over what appears to be a 'p'.

p. 135 **1** The tops of the catchwords 'noblis... realme' are visible.
2 ' / Vnicuique...' is rubricated.
3 The 'k' is blotted in the ms.
4 The 'bl' is blotted.

p. 136 **1** ms: 'queque'

p. 137 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 'No[tatu]r' is written in the lefthand margin. 'wys peteus cheritable & namlie anens the pur &' has been written over an erasure. 'wys peteus... for wisdom' has been added; it is in lighter ink and the hand is cramped.
3 Following an erasure, 'or' is written over other letters.

p. 138 **1** A horizontal mark extends from the 'wn' over the n.

p. 141 **1** ms: 'ingenum'

p. 142 **1** ms: 'thinkis'
2 ms: 'baltale'
3 The word 'humely' in the ms has an extra minim.
4 The word 'supernal' has been converted to 'personal'.

p. 144 **1** Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.

p. 145 **1** The 's' has been written over what appears to be a 't'.

p. 147 **1** Inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 148 **1** ms: 'of of'
2 Inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 149 **1** The top of the catchwords 'v buk of polethikis' are visible.

p. 151 **1** Inserted in the lefthand margin.
2 An unnecessary caret is inserted here.
3 '-iu-' has only two minims.

p. 152 **1** 'wertu' has been converted to 'werray'.

p. 153 **1** 'þar' would make better sense here.
2 ms: 'in duces'

p. 154 **1** Although the word is clear, a letter following the 'y', apparently another 'y', has been stricken over.

p. 155 **1** Space reserved for large initial. No letter as a guide.
2 ms: 'maifest' with no mark of abbreviation for 'n'.

p. 156 **1** 'And þe noble...' has apparently been added later at the bottom of the page. The hand, though cramped, is the same.
2 An erasure, now illegible, appears in the lefthand margin.

p. 157 **1** The 'di' has been written over an erasure. The quotation is in red ink.
2 The 'mi' has been written in black ink over an erasure.
3 'Multa...' is rubricated.

p. 159
1 ms: 'sinis'; 'loquor...' is rubricated.
2 'Regalia insignia...' is rubricated.
3 'No[tatu]r' inserted in the lefthand margin.
4 'vnxit...' is rubricated.
5 ms: 'proterea'
6 Inserted in the lefthand margin.

p. 160
1 'Secundum carnem...' is rubricated.
2 ' / Tibi...' is rubricated.

p. 161
1 Space reserved for large initial. Place marked by 'a'.
2 'nd...' is rubricated.
3 'and quhat persounis' is repeated.

p. 162
1 'quia...' is rubricated.
2 'ibi...' is rubricated.
3 'da...' is rubricated.
4 'Et...' is rubricated.
5 'est' is added in brown ink.
6 'quod...' is rubricated.
7 ms: 'Corripiat'
8 The virgule is in brown ink.
9 ms: 'inpinguet capud meun'; 'psalmus...' is rubricated.

p. 163
1 Thus the ms.
2 'beatus...' is rubricated.
3 'quia...' is rubricated.
4 ms: 'male'

p. 164
1 ms: 'starlie'
2 ms: 'sandis'
3 'incepit...' is rubricated.

p. 165
1 The 'g' has been written over an 'l'.
2 The initial 'h' is floreated and rubricated.
3 In the lefthand margin in large letters is written 'Alexr guthre'.
4 ms: 'pari/sensi'.
5 'deo...' is rubricated.

p. 166
1 The 'e' is illegible.
2 ff. 359v and 360r are marked by inscriptions of varying degrees of legibility.

CRITICAL NOTES BOOK 7

105.05 *Diligitis iusticiam* ... Prov. 1.1

105.12 *Misericordia & veritas* ... Ps. 84(85).11

105.20 *iusticia est* ... Justinian, *Code, tit.* 1

105.27 *quia ipse* ... Rev. 19.16

106.02 *Et in regulis* ... Augustine, *De trinitate* 14.15 (*CC* 50a.450) (*DJ, OC* 7.600)

106.08 *Per me reges* ... Prov. 8.15

106.18 *Sequitur in diffinicione* ... Justinian, *Code, tit.* 1

106.20 *Omnia quecumque* ... Ps. 134(135).6

106.23 *deus certa* ... Boethius, *De consolatione* 5. pr. 1 (*DJ, OC* 7.601)

107.17 *lex dicitur* ... Prof. Burns has located the source of this reference in Aquinas' *ST* 1a2ae 90.1 and has traced it ultimately to Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, Ps. 1.2 (*CC* 97.32): *'Lex enim dicitur ex eo quod animos nostros liget, suisque teneat obnoxios constitutis'.*

107.20 *Non habemus* ... Heb. 13.14

108.14 ff. Aristotle dicusses the various polities and their corruptions in *Politica* 3.7–8. As R. J. Lyall has pointed out, Ireland names Aristotle, Gerson does not (*DJ, OC* 7.605). In addition, Ireland's examination is fuller than Gerson's *Diligite justiciam* at this point.

109.29 ff. on the warring passions (joy, sorrow, hope, dread): *Aeneid* 6.733 and *Rhetoric* 2 passim (*DJ, OC* 7.606). In the *Rhetoric*, Aristotle deals with a number of passions (e.g., anger, enmity, fear, shame, shamelessness), not just the four mentioned here. In *Tusculanarum Disputationes* (not *Questiones*), see 3.4.7, along with n. 2 (p. 232) in the Loeb translation by J. E. King (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1950). *De consolatione* 1, met. 7 (cf. Chaucer's gloss, 'that is to seyn, lat non of thise foure passiouns overcomen the or blenden the'); *In trigidiis* is probably a general reference to Seneca's tragedies, which undoubtedly deal with the passions. Cf. Augustine's *Confessions* 9.14.

109.33 *Confusa sunt* ... I have not located the unltimate source for this quotation. The first two words are, however, cited by Gerson (*DJ, OC* 7.606). This might be a gloss on Rev. 8.1.

110.03 *Rex pacificus* ... Gregory, prologue to Decretales

110.18 'communicatiue': despite the abbreviation, the MS points rather clearly to this rendering, but more than likely, this is a scribal error. Ireland undoubtedly means 'commutatiue' (as in Gerson *OC* 7.606). 'Communicatiue' does not have such a meaning in the *OED*. Thus, while retaining the spelling in the MS, I have defined the word according to the sense of 'commutative' in the glossary.

110.25 *Omnia quecumque* ... Matt. 7.12

110.34 *execauit eos* ... Sap. 2.21. In Gerson, the passage is signalled by the first two words only (*DJ, OC* 7.607).

110.34 *homo cum* ... Psalm 48(49).21

111.20 *homo est* ... *Politica* 1.1 (1253a3); cf. Aquinas, *Regimen Principum* 1.1

111.22 *quia natura* ... a summary of *Metaphysica* 1.1.

112.11 *Potestas data* ... 2 Cor. 10.8; 13.10

112.19 The definition of *Ephekea* is evidently Ireland's own. It does not occur in Gerson's *Diligite justiciam*. The reference to Aristotle is to *Eth. Nic.* 5.10.

112.29 *Nec declinando* ... 2 Chron. 34:2

112.35 *diligite iusticiam* ... Sap. 1.1

113.12 *Et ad huc* ... Frederick C. Tubach lists the story of Constantine in his *Index Exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1969), #1222. Gerson states that the story is to be found in Cassiodorus' *Chronica Tripartita*—*DJ, VR, OC* 7.614, 1165). Cassiodorus (1.7) assigns the action to Constantius, not Constantine.

113.24 *qui diligit* ... Jn. 14.23

113.26 *qui ex deo* ... Jn. 8.47

113.27 The judge's duty to keep the peace is formulated in Arist. *Pol.* 5.11.17–33 (1314a–1315b) (*DJ, OC* 7.614).

114.03 *Incipit a se*—'þat is þat man suld luf him self vnder god best' (cf. Lev. 19.18)

114.07 *Et homo* ... *Ethica Nicomachea* 9(not 8).9 (cf. 1170a16–19). (*DJ, OC* 7.615).

114.09 *Qui diligit* ... Ps. 10(11).6

115.09 *factus est* ... Gen. 2.7

115.10 *hodie rex* ... Ecclus. 10.12

115.14 The notion that the life of the city is in good laws is found in *Politica* 1.2 (1253a). (*VR, OC*, 7.1144).

115.17 *Comparat corpus* ... cf. Rom. 12.4–5; Eph. 4.4

115.26 *viuo ego* ... Gal. 2.20

115.29 *quid prodest* ... Matt. 16.26; Mk. 8.36; Lk. 10.27

116.03 *regnum dei* ... Matt. 19.23, 24; Mk. 9:47; 10.23–25; etc.

116.08 *vos estis* ... I Pet. 2.9

116.10 The allegory of the gifts of the three Magi occurs in Gerson (*AE, OC* 7.520–21). Cf. Isidore's *Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae ex Novo Testamento* 142: *'magi figuraverunt gentium populos, lucem fidei cognituos, indicantes sacramentorum muneribus Christum, per thus esse Deum, per myrrham hominem passum atque sepultum, per aurum regem omnium saeculorum'* (*PL* 83.117). Cassiodorus (*Expositio in Cantica Canticorum* 3) equates frankincense with the church (*PL* 70.1071); for Gregory the Great (*Moralia in Job* 4.31), gold signifies the temporal kingdom (*CC* 143.205); and Gillebert (*Sermo in Cantica Salomonis* 28) interprets myrrh as a symbol of sensual mortification (*PL* 184.148; cf. pseudo-Bernard, *Vitis Mystica, PL* 184.646–7).

116.26 *Encia nolunt* ... *Metaphysica* 12.10 (1076a2ff.); cf. *Iliad* 2.204 (*VR, OC*, 7.1139)

116.32 *Omne regnum* ... Matt. 12.25; Lk 11.17

116.36 *Tunc mala* ... 1 Macc. 1.10

116.36 *Nulla fides* ... Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.92–93 (the quotation occurs in *VR, OC* 7.1139, but Ireland names Lucan as the author).

117.01 *effusa est* ... Ps. 106(107).40

117.03 *Quicquid delirant* ... Horace, *Epist.* 1.2.14 (*VR, OC*, 7.1142)

117.10 *Concordia parue* ... Sallust, *Jugur.* (not *Cat.*) 10.10

117.12 *duobus brachiis* ... cf. 1 Kings 10.19

117.21 The story of the Palladium occurs in *Aeneid* 2.162–71 and *Metamorphoses* 13.312 43. It is retold in Colonna's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* 29. (*VR, OC* 7.1145).

117.30 The story of the mirror of Virgil occurs in *The Roman des Sept Sages* and Gower's *Confessio Amantis* 5.2031–2224. Ireland's moral interpretation concerns prudence, not covetousness, as in Gower. See the discussion in Domenico Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, trans. E. F. M. Benecke (London, 1908), pp. 303–5. (*VR, OC* 7.1145).

118.08 Scipio's comments about the foresight of a prince are found in Valerius Maximus, *Factorum* 7.2.2.

118.14 *dicite nobis* ... Is. 30.10 (*'loquimini nobis placentia'*)

118.15 *Princeps qui* ... Prov. 29.12

118.21 *Priusquam incipias* ... Sallust, Cat. 1.6

118.24 *Omnes homines* ... Sallust, *Cat.* 51.1 (cf. Gerson, *VR, OC* 7.1164)

118.28 The reference to Ahasuerus is to Esther 1.13–14.

118.30 I have been unable to locate Homer's allusion to the Sun's twelve signs of governance in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The source is probably apocryphal. Gerson sets the number of signs at *'sept'* (*VR, OC* 7.1164). It seems likely that Ireland is referring to the signs of the Zodiac, Gerson to the planets.

118.32 The story of Phaeton is found in *Metamorphoses* 2.153–328, especially 235–6. 'galacia' is probably a misreading of *'glaciali'* in l. 173.

119.17 *ibi salus* ... *Prov. 24.6*

120.07 *sicut tetragonus* ... *Ethica Nic.* 1.11 (1100b21) (*VR, OC*, 7.1150)

120.15 *iusticia et iudicium* ... Ps. 96(97).2

120.17 *quod dominium* ... *Ethica Nic.* 8.13 (1161a18–19), but also 8.11 (1160a1–3) (*VR, OC*, 7.1160)

120.20 *Exiit edictum* ... Lk. 2.1

120.18 *pater patrie* ... The quotation is from Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* 1.2.58, not in surviving passages of Livy.

120.27 *Pastorem populi* ... ultimately *Iliad* 2.243; cf. *Eth. Nic.* 8.13 (1160a1–3) (*VR, OC*, 7.1160)

120.32 *Rex erat* ... *Aeneid* 1.544–5

121.01 *Misericordia et veritas* ... Prov. 20.28

121.06 *Rex nichil* ... I have been unable to locate the source of this

quotation, either in Cicero or Demosthenes. A similar idea, however, is expressed in Cicero's praise of Caesar in *Or. pro Lig.* 12.37: '*Nulla de virtutibus tuis nec admirabilior nec gratior misericordia est*' (see Augustine, *De civ. dei* 9.5 – *CC* 47.254).

121.13 *Tu regere* ... *Aeneid* 6.852–4 (*VR*, *OC* 7.1173)

121.16 *Rem gerere* ... Horace, *Epist.* 1.17.33–34; the quotation in Horace begins with *res*.

121.24 ff. Examples of false adulation: Ahab (1 Kings 16.29–18.46; 21.1–22.40); Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 3, esp. 1–7); Holofernes (in the Book of Judith); and Herod (Matt. 2.1–18).

121.33 ff. Examples of lechery: Tarquin's rape of Lucretia (*Gesta Romanorum* #135, based on *De civ. dei* 1.19); Samson and Delilah (Judges 16.4–31); David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11.1–12.23); Solomon (1 Kings 11.1–13); Noah (Gen. 6–8, esp. 6.5–7); Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 18.16–19.28, cf. 13.10–13, 14.28); Shechem's rape of Dinah (Gen. 34); the slaughter of the sixty thousand for fornication (a gloss?). (*AE*, *OC* 7.527).

122.15 Examples of ambition: Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 4.13–33); Caesar and Pompey (*Gesta Romanorum* #19).

122.24 Josephus, in *Antiquities* 16.11.1–6, speaks of the slaying of Herod's sons. The Massacre of the Innocents is recorded in Matt. 2.16–18. The reference to Josephus is Ireland's own. Gerson cites Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 2.4.11, as his source (*AE*, *OC* 7.527). Below, Ireland also refers to the *Saturnalia*, but in a different context.

122.27 *errat longe* ... Terence, *Adelphoe* 1.1.10–12. (*AE*, *OC* 7.527).

122.29 Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.11.32; and Suetonius, *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* 1.26, 38, 67, 73–75, record the deeds of Julius Caesar. (*AE*, *OC* 7.527).

123.08 The story of the stomach and the rest of the body is recorded in Livy, *Historiae* 2.32 and may also be found in John of Salisbury, *Polycraticus* 6.24. The organic analogy was a commonplace in medieval political theory. Cf. Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, vol. 3, ed. John Cartwright, STS 4.18 (1990), pp. 10–11, where the clerics are head, the prince and the nobility are the body, and the labourers are the legs.

123.21 *Si vis* ... Seneca, *Epist.* 9.4

123.32 *Clemencia roboratur* ... Prov. 20.28

123.38 *Nichil laudabilius* ... Cicero, *De officiis* 1.20

124.04 ff. The story of the naming of Athens is recorded in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 6.66 ff. (*VR*, *OC*, 7.1145)

124.18 *quia finis bellorum* ... and *Negociamur* ... are both found in Aristotle, *Politica* 7.14,15 (1333a–b, 1334b).

124.21 *Pax super israell* ... *Enarratio in Psalmum* 127(128):6 (*PL* 37.1687–8)

124.22 *quod pax* ... Augustine's suppositious sermons 97 and 98 on Jn. 14.27 (*PL* 39.1931–1933). (*VR*, *OC* 7.1160).

124.24 Ahasuerus' pledge not to abuse his power is recorded in Esther 13.2 (Gerson places this in chapt. 10).

124.28 *Beati pacifici* ... Matt. 5.9

124.30 *Et in terra* ... Luke 2.14

124.31 *inquire pacem* ... Ps. 33(34).15

125.11 *Et facta* ... Lk. 2.13–14

125.16 *gloriosa dicta* ... Ps. 86(87).3

125.18 *vt sine timor* ... Lk. 1.74

126.05 *Sicut fuit* ... Lk. 16.19–31, esp. 28

126.20 *quia principes* ... I have been unable to locate this passage in the Bible. Prof. Burns suggests that the quotation might be 'a kind of inverted echo of Jeremiah 29:11': *'Ego enim scio cogitationes quas ego cogito super vos, ait Dominus, cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis, ut dem vobis finem et patientiam'*.

126.31 *disciplina pacis* ... Is. 53.5. The verse reads, *'Disciplina pacis nostrae super eum'*.

127.23 *Cum enim* ... Gregory the Great, Homily 9 in *XL Homiliarum in Evangelia, lib.* 1, on Matt. 25.14–30, (*PL* 76.1106). (*VR, OC*, 7.1155).

127.26 ff. The story of Trajan occurs in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* 5.8, but Ireland's primary source was Gerson (*VR, OC* 7.1155–6). Cf. Dante, *Purgatorio* 10.73–93; *Paradiso* 20.43–48, 106–17.

128.34 *Si omnia* ... a summary of St. Paul's discussion of the relations of the parts of the body in I Cor. 12.14–26.

128.35 ff. The preeminence of the king is established in Deut. 17.14–20. The story of Rehoboam's coronation is recorded in 1 Kings 12.1–19 and 2 Chron. 10.1–19; the story of Mephibosheth in 2 Sam. 9; 19.24–30; 21.1–14; and Ahab's murder of Naboth in 1 Kings 21.

129.05 *hoc erit ius regis*: 1 Sam. 8.11

129.18 Aristotle discusses the dangers arising from the agreement of many evil people in *Pol.* 5.10. (*VR, OC* 7.1158).

129.24 *Omnia sunt principis* ... I have not discovered the source of this quotation. It has a proverbial ring to it.

130.11 *En quo discordia* ... Virgil, *Eclogues* 1.71–72

130.12 *O ciues ciues* ... Lucan, *Pharsalia* 1.8–10

130.24 *Profecto hic homo* ... *Eunuchus* 2.2.23. (*VR, OC* 7.1161)

130.27 Cosdroe refers to the Persian tyrant reigning during the time of Justinian. He figures in Marlowe's *Tamburlane*, Part 1.

130.30 *Nil est* ... Juvenal, *Satires* 4.70–71 (*VR, OC* 7.1161)

130.38 ff. Homer tells the story of Vulcan, Venus, and Mars in *Odyss.* 8. The story is retold by Ovid in *Metam.* 4.170 ff. and subsequently allegorized in the Middle Ages. Cf. Boccaccio, *De genealogia deorum* 9.3. Gower's *Confessio Amantis* 5.635–725, and Petrus Berchorius, *Ovidius Moralizatus* f. 38r. Though more detailed, none of these versions interprets the role of the audience of the gods.

131.07 I have not been able to locate the source relating Achilius' remarks about the voluptuousness of the Athenians. Cf. *VR, OC* 7.1167.

131.10 In the *Historiae* 23.2–5; 26.12–16, Livy records the campaign of Hannibal against the people of Capua.

132.08 *quod iusticia est* ... Aristotle, *Ethica Nic.* 5(not 1).1 (1129b27–9) (*VR*, *OC* 7.1172)

132.11 *quod regna* ... Augustine, *De civitate dei* 4.4 (*CC* 47.101).

132.12 ff. The popular story of Alexander the Great and Diomedes the pirate is recorded in Augustine's *De ciuitate dei* 4.4 (*CC* 47.101), which follows Cicero's *De respublica* 3. Cf. Gower, *Confessio Amantis* 3.2363–2417, and *Gesta Romanorum* (Oesterly #146); and *The Book of Chess* (Scottish) in the Asloan MS—STS NS.14 (1923), pp. 93–94. R. J. Lyall has noted the parallel in Sir Gilbert Hay's *Buik of King Alexander the Conqueror*, vol. 3, ed. John Cartwright, STS 4.18 (1990), pp. 215–16. (*VR*, *OC* 7.1172-3).

133.06 The 'auld law' is a reference to Deut. 24.10–11, which forbids a creditor from going into the house of his debtor to take his pledge.

133.09 The judgment of Cambyses was a popular exemplum. It is recorded in *Gesta Romanorum* (Oesterley, #29). (*VR*, *OC* 7.1173).

133.13 ff. I have been unable to identify the chronicles Ireland mentions regarding the story of the fool and the king's remission, though Ireland follows Gerson in this and the subsequent two stories (*VR*, *OC* 7.1174–5). The story also occurs in *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* (ll. 651–788) and Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes* (ll. 3123–64). For a discussion of these see R. J. Lyall, 'The Sources of *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* and Their Significance', *RES*, NS, 31 (1980), 262–4; and Craig McDonald, 'The *Thre Prestis of Peblis* and *The Meroure of Wyssdome*: A Possible Relationship', *SSL*, 17 (1983), 158–62. Gower also tells a story of a fool who makes a fool of the royal court in *Confessio Amantis* 7.3945ff.

133.26 *quod res publica* ... Sallust, *Cat.* 52.22 (*VR*, *OC* 7.1173–4)

133.36 The original story of the man and the flies may be found in Aristotle's *Rhetorica* 2.20, although again, Ireland is following Gerson. The story also occurs in an expanded form in *The Thre Prestis of Peblis* ll. 499–634. Cf. McDonald, 158–62, and Lyall, 262–4, 268, in articles cited in note to 133.13.

134.12 ff. Ireland identifies Tiberius as Gerson's emperor who wrings his counsellors like a sponge. This characterization ultimately comes from Suetonius 3.49. Cf. *Gesta Romanorum* (Oesterly #51), where Tiberius is compared to Aristotle's wounded man.

134.17 The story of Anacarsis is told by Plutarch in his *Lives*, 'Solon'. But see also Valerius Maximus, *Factorum* 7.2.14; and Hoccleve, *Regement of Princes* ll. 2815–21; and *The Book of Chess*, Asloan MS—STS, NS 14 (1923), p. 106. (*VR*, *OC* 7.1175).

134.22 In 'covnt' a case could be made for expanding the mark after the 't', and thus producing 'covnter', but the sense is better maintained with 'covnt' (cf. 164.25, and 'compt' 141.29, and 'count' 101.05; contrast with 135.07).

134.27 Aristotle addresses the issue of prodigality in *Ethica Nic.* 4.1.

134.29 ff. Virgil (*Aen.* 3.588–691) and Homer (*Odyss.* 9) tell the story of Polyphemus. The *Georgics* 3.5 and Boethius *De consol. phil.* 2 pr. 6 recount

the tale of Busirus. Ovid (*Metam.* 1.163–243) tells of Lichaon. Gower speaks of the latter two tyrants in Confessio Amantis 7.3341–3385. Ireland's interpretation, unlike Gower's, is euhemeristic. (*VR, OC* 7.1176).

135.28 ff. Aristotle's theory that the nature of a child is determined by that of his parents is discussed in *Pol.* 1.6 (1255b).

136.19 *forme et diuiciarum* ... Sallust, Cat. 1.4

136.21 *Stat sua* ... *Aen.* 10.467–9

138.14 Granting hasty credence is condemned by Robert Henryson in his short poem 'Aganis Haisty Credence of Titlaris'.

139.19 ff. The list of heroes includes those from the Trojan War (Hector, Troilus, Achilles), Greek mythology (Hercules), the Bible (Judas Maccabeus), and Roman history (Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctato, Marcellus, the namesake of Octavian's nephew, Scipio Africanus Major, Cato [either the Elder or Younger], and Julius Caesar).

139.22 *gallos gloria* ... *Cat.* 53.3

139.25 *Exiit Edictum* ... Luke 2.1

140.09 *quod mundicie* ... Sallust, *Jurg.* 85 (*VR, OC* 7.1169)

140.10 ff. Another list of heroes, primarily Roman: Caius Marius, Julius Caesar, Pompey, Scipio, Caius Fabricius Luscinus, Cato (either the Elder or Younger), Octavian, and (the only non-Roman) Charlemagne.

140.15 ff. Sallust narrates the story of Metellus in *Jurg.* 45 (*VR, OC* 7.1169)

140.22 ff. Scipio's tactics in Spain are described in Livy's *Historiae* 26.41–44. Parts of the account, apparently alluded to by Ireland, are missing. Cf. Frank Gardner Moore, trans., *Livy, VII*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge & London, 1950), pp. vii–x, 160 n. 5, 161 n. 2, 168 nn. 3,1. A similar story is recounted in Valerius Maximus, *Factorum* 2.7.1.

140.37 ff. Sallust praises Roman military discipline in *Cat.* 53. (*VR, OC* 7.1169).

141.18 ff. The story of Titus Manlius Torquatus is described by Sallust in *Cat.* 52.30–32 (*VR, OC* 7.1169).

141.14 'Cleacus', duke of Lacedaemon—Clearchus (d. 401 B.C.), a Spartan-born general whose life is narrated by Xenophon, *Anabasis* 2.6.8–10, but see Valerius Maximus, *Factorum* 2.7 ext. 2. (*VR, OC* 7.1170).

141.20 *quod tandem* ... *Cat.* 2.2

141.21 Ulysses' triumph over Ajax is described in *Odyssey* 11, and in *Metamorphoses* 13.1–398.

141.24 ff. Yet another list of heroes: Trojan—Hector, Troilus; Greek—Hercules, Achilles, Diomedes; Biblical – Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus; Roman – Scipio, Julius Caesar; along with Alexander the Great, King Arthur of Britain, and Charlemagne.

142.04 ff. Scipio's courtesy to the virgin in Spain is recounted in Livy's *Historiae* 26.50.

142.38 ff. Dr. Sally Mapstone has argued convincingly that the following chapter is modelled very closely after Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor Pacis*

1.16, though with the intention of disproving Marsilius' contention that princes should be chosen.

144.16 Aristotle addresses the issue of succession in *Pol.* 3.15 (1286b). Differences in dividing the texts account for Ireland's reference numbers.

145.22 Ireland's reference to Boethius' comment that a good master must first be a good pupil seems to come from *'De disciplina scholarum'* 2: *'qui se non novit subjici, non noscat se magistrari. Miserum est enim eum fore magistrum qui nunquam se novitesse discipulum'* (*PL* 64.1226). It is also attributable to Gregory the Great, *Dial.* 1.1 (*PL* 77.156).

145.27 Aristotle warns against the leadership by the young in *Topica* 3.2 (117a).

145.32 *Ve tibi* ... Eccles. 10.16

146.05 *ideoque maxime* ... Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium* 65. The island of Caprobane (or Taprobane) is Ceylon.

147.19 ff. In *Rhet.* 2.16, 20 (1390b, 1393b–1394a), Aristotle comments on the behavior of the nouveau riche. Cf. Marsilius, *Defensor Pacis* 1.16.1 (Gewirth 69).

147.30 *Principatus virum ostendit*: *Ethica Nic.* 5.1 (1130a2). The principle that a good child comes from a good father is also expressed in *Pol.* 1.6 (1255b) and *Rhet.* 1.5, 9; 2.15 (1360b, 1367b, 1390b). Cf. Marsilius, *Def. Pac.* 1.16.3–4, 13 (Gewirth 69–70, 72).

148.24 *Mortuus est* ... I have been unable to locate the source of this quotation.

148.28 *aurea secula*: Cf. Ovid, *Metam.* 1 for a description of the golden age.

148.36 *Mortuus est* ... A refrain sounded throughout the historical books of the Old Testament (e.g. 1 Kings 11.43).

149.25 ff. The passages relevant to kingship in Aristotle's *Politica* are 2.9 (1271a); 2.11 (1272b–1273a); 3.14 (1285b); 3.17 (1288a); 5.10 (1310b). Cf. Marsilius, *Def. Pac.* 1.16.3–4 (Gewirth 69).

149.33 *Vos estis* ... I Pet. 2.9

149.37 *Sed elegit* ... Ps. 77(78).68

149.37 *Non auferetur* ... Gen. 49.10

150.02 *iuravit dominus* ... Ps. 131(132).11, 12

150.11 Aristotle's comments about strangers ruling are to be found in *Pol.* 1.12.

150.15 *Non poteris* ... Deut. 17.15

150.32 *Rege vero* ... from the Sixth Council of Toledo, art. 17 (*PL* 84.408–9)

151.09 *Transfert regna* ... Dan. 2.21

151.14 *regnum de gente* ... Ecclus. 10.8

151.16 ff. Moses tells the children of Israel about their passage into the land of Canaan in Deut. 9.1.

151.38 *quod Regna* ... *De civitate dei* 4.4 (*CC* 47.101)

152.05 *iniquitas bene* ... Jerome, *Epist.* 100 (*PL* 22.815)

152.27 *qui est primogenitus* ... Rom. 8.29

152.28 *Estis dominus* ... Gen. 27.29 (a paraphrase)

153.22 *Nemo iuvenes ... Topica* 3.2 (117a29–30)

153.29 ff. The loyalty of the Macedonians to their young king is told in Justinus Historicus, *Historiae Philippicae* 7.2.5–12.

155.17 *Misericordia & veritas* ... Prov. 20.28

155.21 *Potestas non* ... 2 Cor. 10.8

155.29 *Post latuium ... Aen.* 1.544–5

155.31 *Tu regere ... Aen.* 6.852–4 (*VR, OC* 7.1173)

156.21 ff. The actor Pylades portrays the contemplative attitude necessary to kingship in *Saturnalia* 2.7.12–14. (*RISV, OC* 7.1011).

156.28 *Rex qui sedet* ... Prov. 20.8

156.29 *princeps que digna* ... Is. 32.1

157.01 *Multa secum* ... cf. *Aen.* 1.209

157.02 ff. The meditations of Scipio are related in Livy's *Hist.* 26.19. The source might have been Valerius Maximus, *Factorum* (Epitome of Januario Nepoziano) 2.2. (*RISV, OC* 7.1012).

157.08 ff. Jerome's exposition on Daniel 2.1 is found in his *Commentaria in Danielem prophetam* (*CC* 75a.783). The appropriate chapters in Daniel are 2 and 4, not 2 and 3. Ireland follows Gerson in this error (*RISV, OC* 7.1011).

157.12 *Cor regis* ... Prov. 21.1

157.21 ff. Divine revelation through dreams is confirmed in Job 4.13–14; 33.15–17. The 'euuangel' could refer to the various dreams of Joseph and the Wise Men. See, e.g., Matt. 1.20; 2.12–13, 19–22.

157.30 ff. The organic analogy was fundamental to medieval political thought. The Scriptural basis is to be found in Rom. 12.4–5; 1 Cor. 12; Eph. 4.4. Cf. John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 5.2. See L. K. Born, 'The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Ideals', *Speculum*, 3 (1928), 470–504, especially 503–4. The allusion to Plutarch, taken from John of Salisbury, is apparently to *Institutio Traiani*, attributed to Plutarch (cf. C.C.I. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis Espiscopi Carnotensis Policratici sive De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum Libri VIII*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909), I.280.n.15. The reference to Aristotle is ambiguous. (*RISV, OC* 7.1013).

158.10 *quasi tuba* ... Is. 58.1

159.05 *Per me reges* ... Prov. 8.15

159.12 *loquor ad dominum* ... Gen. 18.27

159.15 The ideas of Pope Gelasius I (492–6) on the two powers, one spiritual, the other temporal, are expressed in his *Epist.* 8 to the Emperor Anastasius (*PL* 59.41–47, esp. 42).

159.26 *vnxit te deus* ... Ps. 44(45).8

159.28 *dilexisti iusticiam* ... Heb. 1.9

160.16 *Tibi soli* ... Ps. 50(51).6

160.19 ff. Gower discusses the stones in the crown of a king in *Confessio Amantis* 7.819–47.

161 ff. The substance of this chapter is taken from the 'Tale of Melibee',

presumably Chaucer's version (see McDonald, 'John Ireland's *Meroure of Wyssdome* and Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee*', *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 21 (1987), 23–34.

161.13 ff. Tobit's teaching on wisdom is found in the Book of Tobit 4.5–20.

161.27 'for it þat þi self can nocht do quhow suld þou traist in ane vthir persoune': an unacknowledged reference to pseudo-Martinus Dumiensis' *De moribus* 16 (*PL* 72.29). ('Melibee' VII, 1147)

162.08 *quia in sensibus* ... Job 12.12

162.13 *ibi salus* ... Prov. 24.6

162.16 *da michi musa* ... a general rendering of Horace, *Ars Poetica* 141–2, quoted from the opening of the *Odyssey*. Horace reads: '*dic mihi, Musa, virum, captae post tempora Troiae| qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes*'.

162.20 *Et dabant* ... The story of Odysseus' triumph over Ajax in the matter of Achilles' arms is related in Ovid, *Metam.* 13.

162.27 *quod nulla est* ... Cicero, *De amicitia* 25.91. ('Melibee' VII, 1192)

162.31 *Corripiet me iustus* ... Ps. 140(141).5

162.38 ff. The inability of drunkards to keep secrets is noted in Prov. 31.4.

163.06 ff. The deceitfulness of the counsel of wicked men is the subject of Prov. 12.5.

163.10 *beatus vir* ... Ps. 1.1

163.36 *In malis promissis* ... cf. *Digesta* 46.26 and *Liber Sextus Decretalium* 5, tit. 12 '*De regulis juris*', reg. 69. Albertano of Brescia, at the same point in his text, cites *Dig.* 45.1.26 (ed. Thor Sundby, Chaucer Society, 2nd Series, 8 [London, 1873], p. 62).

164.20 *incepit ihesus* ... Acts 1.1

166.10 I have not been able to find the reference to Cato.

GLOSSARY

The following is intended to be a comprehensive listing of all words (with their variants and definitions) appearing in books six and seven of the *Meroure*, based on the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (*DOST*), the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), and the *Concise Scots Dictionary* (*CSD*). Variants are generally listed under that form which appears first alphabetically but are also cross-referenced when confusion might arise. Abbreviations are as follows: n. = noun; pl. = plural form of the noun; pron. = pronoun; v. = infinitive and related tenses of the verb; pres. = usually, third person, singular of the present tense (though, occasionally, this can designate certain second person singular and the plural forms of the present); p. t. = past tense; p. p. = past participle; pr. p. = present participle; conj. = conjunction; ppl. adj. = participial adjective; adj. = adjective; adv. = adverb; pron. = pronoun; superl. = superlative; compar. = comparative; vbl. n. = verbal noun; poss. = possessive; demonst. = demonstrative; relat. = relative; num. = numeral; and art. = article.. Items of etymological interest are followed by notations in brackets.

a 3.21 art. adj. a

a 12.29 num. adj. one; single

abbais 93.38 pl. abbey

abhominable 45.35 adj. detestable

able 16.24; **abil** 114.02; **abill** 41.14 adj. able

ablucioun 9.17; **ablucion** 20.22 n. act or process of washing clean; ceremonial or ritual cleansing [not in *DOST*]

abon 49.04 adv. above

abone 16.13, **aboune** 89.23 prep. above

absolucioun 46.17 n. remission of sins

absolȝe 56.35 v. to absolve

abstenand 2.38 pr. p. to refrain from

abstinence 126.01, **abstinens** 141.30 n. abstinence in respect of bodily appetites

abundanly 134.02 adv. abundantly [used as an example in *DOST*]

abuse 124.26 v.; **abusis** 151.06 pres.; **abusand** 155.25 pr. p. to misuse

accedens 23.27 n.; **accedentis** 21.36, **accidentis** 38.25 pl. accident, attribute

accept 59.33 v.; **accepis** 164.25, **acceppis** 164.21 pres.; **accepit** 10.14, **acceppit** 7.31 p. p. to receive

acceptable 7.26 adj. pleasing

acces 95.26 n. access; ready entrance

accidental 126.07, **accidentale** 126.05 adj. incidental, subsidiary [not in *DOST*]

accioun 138.16 n. action

accumilacioun 76.32 n. accumulation

accus 46.05 v.; **accusis** 48.12 pres.; **accusit** 12.15 p. p. to accuse; to bring a charge against

achorne 38.11 n. acorn

ack 38.12 adj. oak [spelling not in *DOST*]

acord 55.18 v. to agree with another

actiuite 64.05 n. activity
actual 26.27, **actuale** 8.36, **actuall** 6.15 adj. actual; real
adduce 144.01 v.; **adducit** 145.02 p. t. to bring foward as a witness
adiurit 85.26 p. t. adjure [used as an example in *DOST*]
adivnyt 112.05 p. p. to join
admittis 122.16 pres. to allow one to enter
admyt 162.23, **admytt** 86.02 v. to admit; to acknowledge
adolescens 138.38 n. adolescence [not in *DOST*]
aduersaris 137.16 pl. adversary
aduersite 16.33 n. misfortune
adulacioun 113.34 n. adulation
adultry 11.03 n. adultery
aduocat 133.34 n.; **aduocatis** 133.03 pl. professional pleader in a court of justice
affeccioun 6.23 n.; **affeccionis** 121.36 pl. inclination
affermys 110.22 v. to affirm; ratify
afflicciouns 58.03 n. the condition of being afflicted
afflictiue 63.21 adj. tending to inflict continued pain
agan 9.10, **agane** 1.05 prep. against
agan 67.16, **agane** 128.02 adv. again
age 15.06 n.; **agis** 14.32 pl. age; stage in life
agill 140.02 adj. agile, able to move or act quickly, nimble
aill 12.02 n. ale
airis 144.13; **ayris** 146.24 pl. heir
aith 85.21 n.; **athis** 133.04 pl. oath
aitis 38.10 pl. oats
al 8.12, all 1.22 adj. every
alan 157.04 adv. alone
ald 44.27, **auld** 37.27 adj. old; 'ald law' the Old Testament
alhaill 42.02 adv. completely
alicioun 19.11 n. alimentation [used as an example in *DOST*]
all 11.04 n. and adj. absol. all; everything; everyone
allace 133.33 interj. alas
allegis 162.16 pres. to cite or quote as an authority
almaist 61.32 adv. almost; nearly
almus 46.23 n. alms
almus deid 47.31 n. act of alms giving
als 11.07 adv. also; as well; 14.17 as (als...as)
alsua 7.01 adv. also; in addition
altar 6.24, **alter** 18.30 n. altar
aluterly 134.05 adv. wholly
alway 10.38 adv. always
am (see **be**)
amaist 66.18 adv. reduced form of almost
amang 24.10 prep. among, denoting association; in, denoting **inclusion,** into the midst of
ambicioun 122.15 n. ambition
amend 45.29 v. to set right; to make amends for
amite 97.28 n. friendship; amity
amour 23.28 n. love or affection
ampill 91.25 adj. abundant
and 1.05, **ande** 155.04 conj.
and 33.31 conj. if; supposing that; although
ane 9.32 art. adj. a, an
ane 12.30 num. adj. one, by oneself
anens, prep.: 14.29 concerning
anerly 50.28, **anerlie** 69.32 adv. only; merely
angell 23.15 n.; **angellis** 23.22 n. pl. angel
anis 32.05, **anys** adv. together, at once
anorne 34.22 v.; **anournys** 34.24 pres.; **anournyt** 118.03 p. p. to worship; to adorn
anoyntit 75.35 p. p. to anoint
ansuer 31.33 v.; **ansueris** 141.16 pres.; **ansuerit** 35.07 p. t.; **ansuerand** 152.30 pr. p. to answer; to reply

ansuer 144.19 n. answer
antiquite 147.21 n. oldness
anys 27.32 prep. once
aperandlie 163.24 adv. apparently
apercioun 8.10 n. the action of opening [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1615]
apone 22.18 prep. upon
apostil 17.26, **apostill** 11.23, **apostle** 155.21 n.; **apostlis** 7.03 pl. apostle
appeir 17.06 v.; **aperis** 31.25, **apperis** 17.22 pres.; **apperit** 17.38, **aperit** 142.09 p. t. to be evident to the mind; to appear; to present a certain character; to come into sight; to seem
apperand 117.18 ppl. adj. apparent
appetit 29.21 n.; **appetitis** 29.22 pl. natural desire or inclination; lust
applicacioun 5.22, **applicacioune** 22.15 n. application
apply 80.36 v.; **appliis** 130.33, **applyis** 3.38 pres.; **applyit** 3.14, **appliit** 5.13 p. p. to devote; to apply (as a remedy)
approperit 107.08, **appropriit** 106.25 ppl. adj. proper or peculiar
appropinquacioun 87.29 n. approach [the only example in *DOST*]
approvis 164.26 pres.; **approvit** 165.13 p. p. to approve or sanction formally
ar (see be)
arbiter 13.06 n. will or pleasure
archibischopis 108.29, **archibischoppis** 92.21 pl. archbishop
archidenis 92.21 pl. archdeacon
ardent 3.27 adj. ardent; burning
ardentlie 20.05, **ardently** 20.32 adv. eagerly
ardor 10.05 n. burning; zeal
argovne 146.17, **argw** 144.30, **argwne** 16.11 v.; **argonys** 144.11 pres. to argue
argument 152.32 n.; **argumentis** 32.25 pl. argument
argvne 162.30 v. to address
argw (*see* **argovne**)
argwne (*see* **argovne**)
ark 25.24 n. chest for holding something
arme 33.04 n.; **armes** 66.15 pl. arm of the body
armez 117.13 pl. arm of chair
art (*see* **be**)
artacioun 91.12 n. restriction
artikle 1.21 n. article or point
as 1.28 conj. as
as 2.19 prep. as, like, so
as 14.17 compar. adv. as (*answering to* als)
ascend 15.01 v.; **ascendis** 11.05 pres.; **ascendand** 92.27 pr. p. to climb
ascens 92.29, **assens** 89.21 n. ascent
ask 45.14 v.; **askis** 7.33 pres.; **askit** 129.08 p. t. to demand or request
aspersioun 12.22 n. sprinkling
assens (*see* **ascens**)
assigne 54.22 v. to fix, to adduce
assistaunce 159.35 n. aid, assistance
assistis 42.14 pres. to be present
assoȝe 149.03 v.; **assoȝeis** 56.33 pres.; **assoȝeit** 47.38 p. p. to absolve
assumyt 98.36 p. p. to take to oneself
at 2.10 conj. that (*in expression* **eftir at** 1.13)
at 36.24 prep. at, from, of
athis (*see* **aith**)
athyr 38.13 pron. other
atour 68.32, **attour** 88.14 prep. above (in rank)
attestacioun 88.13 n. the action of bearing or calling to witness
attircop 134.18 n. spider
auditouris 143.02 pl. hearer, one of an audience
auersioun 53.30 n. antipathy
augment 112.12 v.; **augmentis** 40.28

pres.; **augmentit** 94.15 p. p. to increase, to grow greater
augmentacioun 6.34 n. increase
auld (*see* **ald**)
autorite 37.01 n. authority
avantage 139.33 n. advantage
aw 127.11 v. to owe
away 2.21 adv. away, denoting disappearance
awin 51.09, **awn** 27.32, **awne** 8.04 adj. own
awis 71.34, **awise** 66.11 v. to consider
awn 38.07 n. an ass
awn 83.08 adj.own (absolute)
ay 16.31 adv. always
ayer 38.14 n. air
ayris (*see* **airis**)
aþir 127.18 adj. each of two; both

bagage 140.07 n. baggage
baik 60.20 v. to bake
baith 1.22, **bath** 136.28 conj. both
baith 33.28 pron. both
baith 97.04 adj. both
bak 140.34 n. back
ball (*see* **fut ball**)
balme 16.01 n. balme
band 96.26 n.; **bandis** 10.32 pl. bonds or fetters
baner 17.34 n. banner
banis 38.16 pl. bones
baptem 7.38, **bapteme** 2.36 n. baptism
baptis 12.10, **baptize** 12.11 v.; **baptist** 5.23 p. p. to baptize
baptismale 50.20 adj. baptismal
bar 17.34 p. t. to bear or carry
barne 5.22 n.; **barnis** 18.18 pl. child
baroune 92.36 n.; **barounis** 165.20 pl. baron
bath (*see* **baith** conj.)
battal 16.18, **battale** 15.17, **battall** 15.24, **battel** 127.28 n.; **battalis** 86.13 pl. war, encounter, or conflict
be 1.17 prep. by
be 1.14 v.; **ar** 1.04, **am** 132.20, **is** 1.17, **art** 127.29 pres.; **was** 2.38, **wes** 7.03, **war** 7.37 p. t.; **war** 4.16 p. subjunct.; **bene** 12.24 p. p.; **beand** 55.16 pr. p. to be
beatitud 37.22, **beatitude** 41.24 n. blessedness; happiness
becaus 6.36 conj. since
becaus of 28.05 prep. for the reason; on account of
bed 156.10 n. bed
befoir 42.13, **befor** 6.29 adv. previously
befor 7.31, **before** 118.07 prep. before, in the presence of
beforsaid 27.21, **befor said** 10.17 adv. aforesaid
begin 163.28, **begyn** 139.17 v.; **begynnis** 49.01 pres.; **begouth** 48.13 p. t.; to begin
begouth (*see* **begin**)
begylis 130.20 pres. to deceive
begynnyng 7.29 vbl. n. beginning
behovit 123.07 p. t. to be necessary
beir 12.02 n. beer
bell 117.19 n. a bell
bene (see be)
benediccioun 125.36 n. benediction or blessing
benefactouris 110.27 pl. benefactor; one who renders aid
benefice 38.38 n.; **beneficis** 78.22 pl. kindness, favor, benefit (singular sometimes used as plural)
beneth 49.04 adv. beneath, below
beneuolens 17.05 n. goodwill; favor
benignite 3.27 n. kindness; graciouness
benys 141.30 pl. bean
ber 38.09 n. barley
ber 140.20 v.; **beris** 17.18 pres.; **bur** 153.33 p. t. to carry; to bear
beriis 24.08 pl. berry
besely 70.08 adv. busily, deligently
besid 129.15 prep. beside

best 26.37 adv. best
best 38.14 n.; **bestis** 38.05 pl. animal, beast
best 108.22 adj. the best (absolute)
bestlie 71.34 adj. brutish, beastly
betakin 17.24 v.; **betakynnis** 5.24 pres. to signify
betrasit 85.19 p. t. to betray
bettir 3.36 adv. to a greater extent
bettir 16.19, **bettyr** 152.17 adj. better; more excellent
betuex 101.09, **betuix** 10.20 prep. between
beute 135.34 n. beauty
bibicioun 23.35 n. drinking [the only example in *DOST*]
biddis (*see* **byd**)
big 84.01 v.; **biggit** 83.24 p. p. to build
bind 84.07 v.; **bindis** 60.26 pres. to bind, fasten, unite
birth 125.10 n. nativity, birth
bischop 8.07 n.; **bischopis** 90.06, **bischoppis** 18.27 pl. bishop
bitter 8.05 adj. bitter
bitternes 61.19 n. bitter quality
blak 118.38 adj. black
bleke 72.01 v.; **blekkit** 52.38 p. p. to blemish
blind 110.33 adj. blind
blindis 58.27 pres. to make blind
blis 1.12 n. bliss, happiness
blissit 11.12 ppl. adj. blessed
blist 4.12 ppl. adj. blest (*a reduced form of* blissit)
blithis 24.04 pres. to gladden
blithlie 71.08 adv. gladly, happily
blithnes 75.17 n. happiness, gladness
blud 8.01, **blude** 21.10 n. blood
bodely 2.01 adj. bodily, corporal
body 2.28, **bodye** 141.32 n.; **bodeis** 29.17 pl. body
boght 132.25 p. p. to buy
borne 9.06 p. p. born; given birth to
bot 1.16 prep. except
bot 5.18 conj. unless; but
bot 12.29 adv. only
bow (*see* **cros bow**, **hand bow**)
bowlis 139.29 pl. bowling
brace 157.25 n. brass
brak (*see* **brek**)
bred 23.12, **breid** 20.26 n. bread
breist 157.25 n. breast
brek 33.31 v.; **brekis** 54.19 pres.; **brak** 159.07 p. t. to break; to violate
breking 164.17 vbl. n. action of the verb to break, in various senses
brethir 30.17 pl. brother
bricht 53.07 adj. bright
brichtnes 10.18, **brychtnes** 160.02 n. brightness
bring 1.26 v.; **bringis** 1.12 pres.; **brocht** 132.14 p. p. to bring
bringaris 140.18 pl. one who brings
brint (*see* **byrn**)
brocht (*see* **bring**)
brokin 72.25 ppl. adj. lawless
brukle 74.12 adj. morally frail
brv 12.02 n. broth
brynt (*see* **byrn**)
buk 5.04 n.; **bukis** 5.27 pl. book
bur (*see* **ber**)
burges 158.13 n.; **burges** 139.26 poss.; **burgesis** 107.10, **burgessis** 123.24 pl. **burgess**; citizen of a burgh
bustis 6.04 pl. small box used for holding documents, money, medicines, or confects
but 22.25 conj. but
but 145.23 conj. unless; except that
buttokis 75.25 pl. the rump
by 53.24 prep. by
byd 12.10 v.; **biddis** 35.14 pres. to request
bydis 68.19 pres. to delay, to wait
byrding 140.33 n. burden, load
byrn 72.31, **byrne** 101.23 v.; **byrnis** 63.23 pres.; **brint** 118.36, **brynt**

119.04 p. t.; **brynt** 84.37 p. p. to burn
byrnand 7.25 ppl. adj. burning

cais 91.30 n.; **caisis** 112.02 pl. occurrence, event; accident
call 111.14 v.; **callis** 120.25 pres.; **callit** 113.15 p. t.; **callit** 4.25, **cauld** 156.09 p. p. to call; to designate
can 10.35 v.; **couth** 70.04, **culd** 143.07 p. t. can
canone 12.07, **canon** 112.18 (*in expression* **canone law**) n. canon law, ecclesiastical law
capitale 71.10 adj. capital, chief
capitane 140.37, **captane** 141.16 n. military captain
cardinal 118.01, **cardinale** 11.15 adj. principal, chief
cardinal 138.23 n. **cardinalis** 108.29 pl. the ecclesiastical office of a cardinal
carectar 8.28 n. spiritual power in a person to receive or produce something sacred [not in *DOST*]
carnal 6.21, **carnale** 24.37 adj. carnal, fleshly
carnaly 101.01 adv. carnally; bodily
cart 118.36 n. cart (chariot)
cary 140.31 v. to carry
castell 56.28 n. castle
castin 38.10 p. p. to throw
castis 34.27 pres. to introduce
catholic 135.10 adj. Catholic
cauld 117.37 n. the cold
cauld (*see* **call**)
caus 2.22 v.; **causis** 5.20 pres.; **causit** 53.15 p. t., 5.25 p. p.; **causand** 120.04 pr. p. to cause
caus 10.01, **cause** 5.16 n. matter, case
causacioun 63.37 n. cause
celebracioun 41.26 n. celebration
celebrat 31.33 p. p. to celebrate
ceptur 159.31 n. scepter
certane 2.17 adj. certain, not specially designated
certitud 70.09 n. certainty
cessis 76.30 pres. to stop, to give over, to come to an end
chair 119.02, **chayr** 118.35 n. chariot
chalace 31.08; **chalice** 31.12 n. sacramental cup
chang 24.21, **change** 138.12, **chaung** 23.25, **chaunge** 23.16 v.; **changis** 20.20, **chaungis** 37.36 pres.; **changit** 134.11 p. t.; **changeit** 147.01, **changit** 20.34, **changyt** 38.14, **chaungit** 20.37 p. p.; **changeing** 20.33 pr. p. to transform, change
change 147.07 n. change
char 118.34 n. chariot (*cp.* **chair**)
charge 84.27 v. to charge, to impose upon (one) a task
chargit 162.38 p. p. filled (w/ wine; i.e., drunk)
chasis 67.07 pres.; **chasit** 134.03 p. t. to pursue
chastite 98.11 n. chastity
chaumer 71.17, **chawmer** 71.14 n. chamber
chaung, chaunge, chaungis, chaungit (*see* **chang**)
chayr (*see* **chair**)
cheif 153.29 n. head, chief
cheis 100.27, **ches** 145.27 v.; **chesis** 73.06 pres.; **chesit** 120.23 p. t.; **chesin** 152.16, **chosin** 144.10 p. p. to choose
cheptur 1.03 n. chapter
cheris 67.34 v.; **cherisis** 68.03 pres.; **cherist** 73.26 p. p. to cherish
cherising 72.25 vbl. n. cherishing
cheritable 137.17 adj. charitable
cherite 3.27 n. charity
ches, chesis, chesit, chesin (*see* **cheis**)
cheualrie 158.02, **cheualry** 17.15, **chewelry** 158.06 n. knightly prowess

cheualrous 17.19 adj. having the character of a knight; chivalrous
child 3.32 n.; **childer** 100.18 pl. child
chosin (*see* **cheis**)
circumscriptiue 33.01 adj. confined to definite limits of space [first reference in *DOST*]
cite 93.24 n.; **citeis** 122.06 pl. city
ciuil 108.07, **ciuile** 107.22, **ciuill** 110.17 adj. civil, as to law (in contrast to canon law)
claith 87.18 n. piece of woven fabric
clarite 37.21 n. clearness, brightness
cled 73.11 p. p. to clothe
cleir 25.17, cler 110.31 adj. clear, plain, outstanding; free from obstruction
clemens 106.31 n. clemency
clene 27.06, cleyn 10.33 adj. clean, morally pure
clenge 9.16 v.; **clengis** 2.05 pres.; **clengit** 3.07 p. p. to cleanse, to purify
clengin 5.24, **clenging** 9.19 vbl. n. cleansing
clergi 88.15, **clergie** 158.02, **clergy** 158.07 n.; **clergis** 123.24 pl. ecclesiastical profession; member of this profession
clerical 93.03, **clericall** 93.07, **clericale** 93.01 adj. ecclesiastical
clerk 6.20 n.; **clerkis** 14.18 pl. member of the clergy; man of learning
clerlie 4.18 adv. clearly, plainly
clernes 15.38 n. clearness, brightness
clething 103.04 vbl. n. clothing
cleyn (*see* **clene**)
clos 92.11 v. to shut, close
clym 21.19 v. to ascend
coaccioun 59.33 n. compulsion, restraint
coactiue 109.15 adj. coercive, compulsory [not in *DOST*; first usage in *OED*, 1605]
coakkit 66.09 p. p. to compel, to coerce
cogitaciounis 69.05 pl. thought
cognacioun 18.17 n. kinship, relationship (in this case, spiritual)
cognicioun 15.33 n. knowledge
cognoscence 107.14, **cognoscens** 10.02 n. knowledge
cohabitacioun 101.30 n. living together
coherciue 107.28 adj. coercive
collacioun 81.01 n. formal admission to a benefice
colour 22.28 n.; **colouris** 87.19 pl. color
colouris 164.24 pl. literary style, graces
com 93.21, **come** 9.04 v. to come; to be derived
command 3.02, **commaund** 107.16 n.; **commandis** 107.15 pl. command, order
command 137.28 v.; **commandis** 158.10 pres.; **commandit** 141.15 p. t. to command (*see* **wn commandit**)
commandment 36.12 n.; **commandmentis** 56.30 pl. command(ment), order
commendit 77.10 p. p. to commend; to commit or consign
commensuratiue 34.03 adj. having relation to measurement or dimension [first reference in *DOST*, 1601, as adv.]
committ 85.38, **commyt** 34.22, **commytt** 81.09 v.; **committis** 34.24 pres.; **committit** 45.08, **commyttit** 11.02 p. t.; **committit** 41.19, **commyttit** 89.03 p. p.; **committand** 47.19 pr. p. to commit, perform
commocioun 147.09 n. commotion, disturbance
commoditeis 125.03 pl. advantages, benefits
common 113.33, **commone** 36.13,

commoun 36.07, **commoune** 107.10 adj. common, ordinary, general

commonlie 148.38, **commonly** 145.29, **commounly** 50.15 adv. commonly, usually

commovis 125.24 pres.; **commovit** 61.33 p. p. to excite; to move to strong feelings

communicacioun 25.22 n. communication

communicatiue 110.18 adj. to be understood in the sense of 'commutative', referring to 'justice which is corrective in transactions between man and man' ['cummutative' not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1531; see critical note]

communioun 19.03, **comunioun** 24.18 n. communion (especially the Eucharist)

communite 111.25 n. community; body of persons associated with each other

commyt, commytt, commyttit (*see* **comitt**)

compaciens 123.33 n. compassion

company 26.19 n. company; society

companȝe 27.09 n. company, society

companȝonis 38.01 pl. companion, comrade

comparable 94.08 adj. able to be compared; worthy of comparison [not in *DOST*]

compeir 130.17 n. equal or peer

comper 24.28 v.; **comperis** 50.02 pres.; **comperit** 53.01 p. p. to compare

comperisone 7.36; **comperisoune** 106.06 n. comparison

compleit 58.06 v.; **completis** 54.12 pres.; **completit** 60.31 p. p.; **completand** 104.14 pr. p. to complete, finish

compleit 64.26, **complet** 111.35 adj. complete

complement 19.17; **conplement** 19.22 n. the completion of something

complexioun 153.22 n. bodily constitution; character

compone 133.06 v.; **componit** 93.06 p. p. to compose, to compound from various substances

composicioun 148.10 n. agreement between parties

comprehend 35.18 v. to understand

compt 36.07 n. count; regard, care

concepcioun 152.25 n. conception

concernand 35.04 pr. p. to relate to

conclud 30.25 v.; **concludis** 106.01 pres.; **concludit** 123.10 p. t., 164.02 p. p.; concludand 57.13 pr. p. to finish, conclude; to come to a decision; to decide with; to agree

conclusioun 136.26 n. end, finish

concord 19.32 n. concord, agreement

concubyn 10.22 n. concubine

concupiscence 10.05, **concupiscens** 6.21 n. desire, lust

concupiscibil 107.04 adj. of the nature of desire

concur 79.11 v.; **concurris** 79.06 pres. to come together, unite

condampne 165.07 v.; **condampnit** 84.35 p. t., 71.04 p. p. to damn; to condemn as false, erroneous

condampnacioun 69.21 n. condemnation

condicion 20.28, **condicioun** 21.01 n.; **condicionis** 129.32, **condiciounis** 24.34 pl. condition (here, nature, character)

condicionaly 152.34 adv. conditionally

condiscend 145.12 v. to agree

confect 15.37 p. p. to make, compose

confedens 59.35, **confidens** 157.11 n.

confidence, trust [*DOST* does not show first spelling]

confer 89.19 v. to give, grant, bestow [this sense not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1570]

conferme 16.37 v.; **confermes** 15.30 pres.; **confermyt** 18.26 p. t., 18.11 p. p. to confirm, to strengthen, to establish

confes 17.12 v.; **confessit** 84.01 p. t., 56.22 p. p.; **confessand** 45.30 pr. p. to confess, to declare openly; to acknowledge commission of a sin

confession 46.23, **confessioun** 46.08, **confessioune** 48.19 n.; **confessiounis** 51.31 pl. confession as religioun act, admission of wrongdoing

confessour 56.24 n. one who hears confession

confidens (*see* **confedens**)

confideracioun 126.26 n. confederation

confirmacion 44.17, **confirmacioun** 6.18 n. the sacrament of confirmation

conforme 6.31 adj. corresponding (to)

conforme 20.38 v.; **conformyt** 11.24, **conformytt** 11.25 p. p.; **conformand** 19.12 pr. p. to bring into agreement or harmony

conformite 98.13 n. agreement, harmony [not in *DOST*]

confusioun 11.19 n. state of disorder; overthrow or ruin

congregacioun 80.20 n. assembly

coniunccioun 25.08 n.; coniunccionis 96.21 pl. union

coniunyt 19.22 p. p. to join, unite

conplement (*see* **complement**)

conquerour 132.19 n. conqueror

conquest 151.02 n. conquest by force of arms

conquest 151.11 v.; **conquestis** 151.02 pres. to conquer

consale (*see* **counsal** n.)

consauit 9.06 p. p. to conceive

consciens 15.38 n. conscience

conscistis 117.38 pres. to consist

consecracioun 21.26 n. consecration

consecrat 37.10 ppl. adj. consecrated

consecrat 42.28 v.; **consecratis** 90.06 pres.; **consecrat** 37.11 p. p.; **consecrand** 88.28 pr. p. to consecrate

consecratiue 42.26 adj. of consecrating character or tendency [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1617]

consent 25.38 n. consent, agreement

consentis 26.06 pres.; **consentit** 30.01 p. t. to consent, acquiesce

conseruacioun 25.27 n. preservation, keeping

conseruis 5.32 pres.; **conseruit** 42.13 p. p.; **conseruand** 71.30 pr. p. to maintain, to store

consider 10.36, **considir** 161.14, **consyder** 72.20 v.; **considerit** 53.29 p. p.; **considerand** 14.33 pr. p. to reflect upon

consideracioun 51.16 n. consideration, thought

consolacioun 54.15 consolation, comfort

conspirit 123.08 p. t. to form a conspiracy

constant 105.21 adj. constant

constaunce 112.32 n. constancy, steadfastness

constaunt 15.31 adj. steadfast

constitucioun 112.06 n.; **constitucionis** 112.04 pl. law of the Church

constitut 93.05 p. p.; **constitutis** 26.01 pres. to establish

consuetud 146.36 n. custom, observance

consume 134.05 v.; **consumys** 63.24

pres.; **consumyt** 118.37 p. t. to consume
consyder (*see* **consider**)
contempcioun 53.30 n. contempt, insolent disregard
contemplacioun 74.15 n. contemplation, meditation
contempne 102.35 v.; **contempnis** 18.20 pres.; **contempnand** 62.36 pr. p. to condemn, to despise
contencioun 162.21 n. strife, contention
contend 130.07 v.; **contendit** 124.07 p. t. to strive, especially in rivalry
contenis 2.27 pres.; **contenit** 2.31 p. p.; **contenand** 30.26 pr. p. to hold; to extend or amount to
content 100.26 adj. content, satisfied
continent (*see* **incontinent**)
continew 137.01 v.; **continuit** 64.04 p. p. to go on, to keep up
continuacioun 148.21 n. continuation
continual 28.03 adj. continual, constant
continualy 28.03 adv. continually, constantly
contra 144.02 prep. against (*in expression* pro and contra)
contract 10.20 n. contract
contradiccioun 36.18 n. contradiction
contrar 12.27 adj. opposite
contricioun 46.16 n. contrition, repentance
contrit 66.23 adj. contrite, penitent
contumelius 151.13 a. full of contumely; scornful, despiteful
conueniens 14.16 n. agreement
conuenient 1.23, **convenient** 144.27 adj. fitting, in harmony
conuenis 19.32, **convenis** 99.04 pres.; **conuenit** 111.06 p. t. to agree; to assemble, combine, unite
conuers 76.05 v.; **conuersit** 89.36 p. t. to hold intercourse; to be in company or society
conuersacioun 16.24 n. association, intercourse with others
conuersioun 54.09, **conuersion** 75.18 n. religious conversion
conuertand 54.28 pr. p. to change, to turn
conuins 143.03 pres. to convince [not in *DOST*; first references in *OED*, early 1600s]
convenis (*see* **conuenis**)
copulit 74.11 p. p. to couple, unite
corespondand 158.28 pr. p. to correspond
corne 38.11 n.; **cornys** 24.07 pl. corn, grain
corniclis 132.12, **corniklis** 38.08 pl. chronicle
coronacioun 135.17 n. coronation
corporal 111.02, **corporale** 2.07, **corporall** 111.01 adj. having a body or bodily form
corporali 7.12 adv. in a bodily manner
correccioun 112.10 n. correction of errors
correct 69.13 v. to punish
correk 165.05 adj. correct (used adverbially)
correspondens 76.21 n. correspondence
correspondent 46.25 adj. correspondent
corrumpit 38.10 p. p. to corrupt
corrupcioun 25.01 n. corruption, physical or moral
corrupit 25.02, **corruppit** 26.26 ppl. adj. corrupted
cors 17.18 n. cross
couerit 134.01 p. t. to cover
counfound 36.33 v. to bring to confusion
counsal 104.09, **counsale** 150.31, **counsall** 35.19, **consale** 162.26 n.;

counsalis 42.07 pl. council (royal or ecclesiastical); counsel, advice
counsal 118.26, **counsale** 157.07 v.; **counsalis** 163.05 pres.; **counsalit** 163.18 p. p. to counsel, advise
counsalour 121.29 n.; **counsalouris** 118.22 pl. counsellor
count 101.05, **covnt** 134.22 n. account or reckoning (figurative of conduct or belief)
couplit 96.22 p. t., 96.34 p. p. to couple, unit
cours 36.14 n. course
court 61.03 n. court, either legal or royal
couth (**see** *can*)
covnter 135.07 n. counting table, counter for reckoning; hence, coming to judgment or giving an acccount
crab 137.27 v. to become angry
crabbit 61.36 adj. cross, ill natured
crabitnes 62.03 n. bad humor
craft, n.: 32.13 craft, occupation; 38.03 cunning; 139.16 skill, knowledge
cre 35.34 v.; **creis** 45.18 pres.; **creant** 9.20 pr. p. to creat
creacioun 30.13 n. creation, making
creat 4.09 v.; **creatis** 3.35 pres.; **creat** 35.37 p. t., 38.37 p. p.; **creatand** 25.37 pr. p. to bring into existence
creatiue 79.21 adj. creative [not in *DOST*]
creator 7.20, **creatur** 20.11 n. creator (God) (*see also* **creatur**)
creatur 10.26, **creature** 36.25, **creator** 53.37 n.; **creaturis** 22.36 pl. created being, creature (singular sometimes used as plural); (*see also* **creator**)
credens 130.19 n. belief, faith
credilite 138.19 n. belief, faith
creid 13.10 n. creed (in this case, the Nicene Creed)
creis (*see* **cre**)
crimes (*see* **cryme**)
criminale 159.33 adj. criminal, relating to crime
crisme 4.21 n. the chrism or sacramental oil for baptism, confirmation, and extreme unction
cristin 6.30 adj. Christian
cristinit 80.11, **cristynnit** 81.38 p. p. Chistian; baptized or christened
croce 17.23 n. cross
cros bow 139.28 n. cross-bow, as distinguished from long-bow or hand-bow
crose 7.24 n. the Cross
croune 150.26, **crovn** 132.03, **crovne** 142.36 n.; **crovnis** 159.19 pl. crown, the symbol of royal authority
crovnit 159.19 p. p. to crown
crucifiit 29.32 p. p. to crucify
cruell 8.04 adj. characterized by extreme pain or suffering; inclined to exercise cruelty
cryis 70.35 pres.; **cryit** 129.13 p. t.; **cryand** 127.29 pr.p to cry
cryme 133.15 n.; **crimes** 151.09, **crymes** 109.25 pl. crime, violation of the law
crystynnyng 10.37 vbl. n. christening
culd (*see* **can**)
culpable 46.10 adj. guilty, deserving punishment
culpe 60.31 n. fault, blame
cum 2.37 v.; **cummys** 10.12 pres.; **cummyn** 25.29 p. p.; **cummand** 35.26 pr. p. to come
cuntre 133.35 n. land, country
cuntreis 142.25 pl. parts, districts of a country
cupil 63.38 v.; **cuplyt** 63.35 p. p. to join together
cur 73.14 n. care, attention
curacioun 5.31 n. healing, cure [not in *DOST*]
curage 68.30 n. manly spirit

curageus 141.33 adj. full of courage
curat 12.08 n.; **curatis** 108.31 pl. priest
cursyn 150.31 vbl. n. excommunication; ecclesiastical cursing
cuuatis 134.10 n. covetousness
cuvenand 3.28 n. covenant

daft 121.38 adj. foolish, stupid, lacking intelligence
daily 57.10 adv. daily
dame 164.06 n. lady; title used with personal name
dampnable 36.34 adj. damnable, injurious
dampnacioun 11.04 n. spiritual damnation
dampnage 147.18 n. damage
dampnit 11.19 ppl. adj. damned
dampnit 126.03 p. p. to condemn
danger 70.30 n.; **dangeris** 138.17 pl. peril
dangerus 130.04 adj. dangerous; perilous
dar 70.21 v.; **durst** 67.32 p. t. to dare, venture
day 34.15 n.; **dais** 138.09 pl. day
dayli 36.13 adv. daily
de 115.20 v. to die
debilite 74.29 n. weakness
decepcioun 148.10 n. deception, deceit
deces 58.07 n. death
decess 153.06 v. to die
decisioun 149.01 n. decision
declar 2.24 v.; **declaris** 1.03 pres.; **declarit** 14.06 p. t., 14.03 p. p. to state plainly, to make clear
declaracioun 43.05 n. declaration
decorit 118.02 p. p. to adorne, embellish; to invest with honor or dignity
decre 42.32 n.; decreis 112.05 pl. civil or ecclesiastical pronouncement
decret 69.19 n. judicial judgement or pronouncement
decretalis 112.06 pl. papal decree
ded 8.04, **dede** 26.28 n. death
dedly 44.03 adj. deadly
defence 15.31, defens 16.22 n. defence
defend 15.15 v.; **defendis** 41.12 pres. to guard or protect; to oppose; to support against opposition
defensour 104.07 adj. defender
deformite 158.26 n. deformity
deformyt 52.13 p. p. to deform, mar, spoil
degestioun 38.15 n. digestion
degestlie 138.24 adv. maturely, carefully
deid 27.18 n. death
deid 37.33 adj. dead
deid 45.29; **deidis** 64.22 pl. n. act, deed
deidlie 54.25; **deidly** 7.09 adj. causing death; entailing spiritual death
deis 11.25 pres.; **deit** 3.27 p. t., 3.36 p. p. to die, to cease
deite 21.11 n. divinity, deity
delay 61.24 v. to defer, postpone
deliberacioun 161.20 n. careful consideration
delicioun 58.31 n. deletion, extinction
deligent 11.35 adj. assiduous
deligentlie 94.03 adv. assiduously
deliuer 1.25 v.; **deliueris** 1.11 pres.; **deliuerit** 1.15 p. p. to liberate; set free
deliuerans 79.18, **deliuerauns** 27.28 n. liberation, release
demand 3.34 n. insistent request
demandit 132.14 p. t. to question; to ask for
demonstracioun 36.36 n. proof, demonstration
deny 35.27 v.; **denyis** 82.19 pres.; **denyit** 85.21 p. t. to deny, refuse to admit
dependis 95.28 v. to depend
deput 17.14 p. p. to assign, appoint
desait 130.22 n. deceit

desaue 47.15 v.; **desauit** 46.04 p. p. to deceive, beguile
deseruit 151.04 p. p. to deserve or merit
desput 152.10 v. to debate, discuss
desyr 6.25 v.; **desyris** 100.30 pres.; **desirit** 129.08 p. t.; **desirand** 128.38 pr. p. to wish for, request or ask
desyr 63.36 n.; **desiris** 29.22 pl. desire as a feeling, object of desire
determe 144.05 v.; **determyt** 152.09 p. p. to decide
determinacioun 94.24 n. judicial or formal decision
determinatly 152.31 adv. definitely [not in *DOST*]
deuil 45.34, **deuill** 10.22 n. the Devil
deuly 7.33, **dewly** 2.20 adv. properly, in due form
deuocioun 3.19 n. devoutness
deuot 39.10 adj. devout
deuotlie 3.29 adv. devoutly
devidis 25.29 pres.; **deuidit** 29.06 p. p. to separate
devin 7.31 adj. divine, sacred
dew 12.01 n. the dew
did (*see* **do**)
difference 20.23, **differens** 21.32 n. difference, diversity
different 82.29 adj. differing
difficil 32.33, **difficile** 104.15 adj. difficult
difficulte 33.09 n.; **difficulteis** 34.26 pl. difficulty
diffinicioun 46.19 n. definition, decision
diffinitive 73.16 adj. of a sentence, determinative
digne 3.26 adj. worthy, deserving, appropriate
dignite 5.02 n.; **digniteis** 78.22 pl. dignity, honor
dilecciоun 27.31 n. love, affection
dilectacioun 16.21 n. delight, enjoyment
diliciuslie 136.11 adv. delicately, luxuriously [Ireland's usage is the only reference in *DOST*]
diligat 141.28 adj. delicate, refined, dainty
diligence 145.38, **diligens** 73.15 n. deligence
dimeritis 126.09 pl. demerit, misdeed
diminuys 75.05 pres.; **diminuit** 148.14, **diminuyt** 148.16 p. p. to diminish
direccioun 109.16 n. direction
direk 161.12 v. to direct
discencioun 129.37, **discensioun** 19.32 n. disagreement, discord
discend 34.28 v.; **discendis** 10.08 pres.; **discendit** 25.02 p. t., 30.15 p. p.; **discendand** 14.27 pr. p. to descend; to enter into particulars
discerne 118.18 v. to discern, distinguish
discipil 145.23 n.; **disciplis** 108.28, **discipulis** 108.32 pl. disciple, student
discomfist 141.14 p. p. defeated
disconuenient 73.08 adj. inconvenient [Ireland is the only authority cited in *DOST*]
discord 19.32 n. disagreement
discrecioun 31.36 n. discretion, possession of full reason or judgment
discreit 138.31 adj. discreet, discerning
dise 120.08 n. dice
dishobeysaunce 62.36 n. disobedience
dishonour 102.35 v. to dishonor, disgrace
dishonour 163.36 n. dishonor, disgrace
disobeyit 109.20 p. t.; **disobeyand** 141.06 pr. p. to disobey

dispence 89.17, **dispens** 80.31 v.; **dispensit** 112.18 p. p. to dispense
dispensacioun 87.10 n. dispensation; administration
disperacioun 47.20 n. desperation
displesaunce 45.09, **displesauns** 48.15 n. vexation, feeling of distress
displesaunt 45.25 adj. unpleasing
displesis 68.33 pres.; **displesand** 73.03 pr. p. to displease
dispone 48.10 v.; disponis 4.05 pres.; **disponit** 3.32 p. p. to set in order, make disposition
disposicioun 46.22 n.; **disposicionis** 64.30 pl. disposition
disposit 34.31 ppl. adj. inclined
dissaif 162.31 v. to deceive
dissimilacioun 162.36 n. dissimulation
dissolute 121.34 adj. lacking cohesion; loose in conduct
distanis 17.03, **distaunce** 92.01 n. distance
distant 33.04, **distaunt** 88.05 adj. separated in space
distinccioun 5.08 n. distinction, division
distinct 15.19 adj. distinct
disting 88.11 v.; **distingis** 8.29 pres.; **distingit** 15.18 p. p. to distinguish
distribue 78.21 v. to distribute [Ireland is the only authority cited in *DOST*]
distributiue 110.19 adj. pertaining to justice which consists in the distribution of something in shares proportionately to the deserts of each [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1531]
distributor 151.08 n. distributer
distroy 54.31 v.; **distroyis** 47.22 pres.; **distroyit** 24.35 p. t., 60.36 p. p. to destroy
distruccioun 23.32 n. destruction
diuers 17.17 adj. different, various
diuersite 17.17 n. difference
diuide 56.23 v.; **diuidit** 32.06, **diuidyt** 32.30 p. p. to divide
diuinite 2.23 n. the science of divine things; divine nature
diuisioun 29.19 n. division
divine 107.05, **divyne** 35.14, **dyvin** 112.23 adj. divine
do 4.23 v.; **dois** 7.12 pres.; **did** 36.02 p. t.; **done** 9.17 p. p.; **doand** 51.36 pr. p. to do
dochter 11.07, **douchter** 10.23 n.; **dochteris** 8.10, **douchteris** 123.18 pl. daughter
doctour 5.04 n.; **doctouris** 14.22 pl. doctor, one who is eminent in theology
doctrin 13.07, doctrine 24.33 n.; **doctrinis** 132.02, **doctrynis** 138.32 pl. doctrine, teaching
dog 134.19 n. dog
dois (*see* **do**)
dolour 45.09 n. sorrow, grief
dominacioun 54.38 n.; **dominaciounis** 112.21 pl. exercise of authority
donacioun 137.24 n. gift, grant
done (*see* **do**)
double 110.38 adj. double
douchter, douchteris (*see* **dochter**)
doune 10.12 adv. down
dout 31.30 v. to doubt
dout 163.25 n. doubt
draw 23.29 v.; **drawis** 6.25 pres.; **drew** 118.35 p. t.; **drawin** 74.10 p. p.; **drawand** 138.34 pr. p. to draw
dred 18.01 v.; **dredis** 54.04 pres. to fear
dred 17.13 n. dread
dreid 15.27 n. fear
dreme 157.14 n. dream
drink 41.03 n.; **drinkis** 141.36 pl. drink
drink 141.30 v.; **drank** 134.01 p. t. to drink

drinkinge 137.09 vbl. n. drinking
drouth 117.37 n. drought
drunkynnes 126.02 n. drunkenness
dubitacioun 47.06 n. doubt
duell 48.27 v. to dwell
duelling 74.06 n. dwelling
duk 92.37 n.; **dukis** 145.28 pl. duke
dulce 16.36 adj. pleasant, sweet
durst (*see* **dar**)
dyner 140.01 n. dinner
dyvin (*see* **divine**)

e 34.06, ene 30.29 pl. the eyes
ecclesiastic 110.17 adj. belonging or pertaining to the church
effeccioun 58.14 n. affection
effect 8.16 n. effect, profit
effeminat 131.11 adj. womanish
efficacite 8.13 n. effectiveness
efficient 103.19 adj. operative
effusioun 8.12 n. effusion, flowing out
eftir 1.13 (*in expression* eftir at *or* eftir that) conj. after
eftir 3.06, **eftyr** 115.05 prep. after
eftir 22.20 adv. after; afterwards
eftirwart 89.13 adv. afterwards
eik 76.14 adv. also
eild 153.09 n. age
eit 134.30 v., 122.20 p. t. to eat
ekin 63.19 vbl. n. augmentation, increase
ekit 112.05 p. p. to increase, enlarge, add
elacioun 119.03 n. elevation of spirit
eldest 162.06 superl. adj. oldest
elecciоun 144.05 n. election
element 36.06, **eliment** 38.13 n.; **elementis** 63.18 pl. element
elementar 9.14 adj. elementary
eleuacioun 89.27 n. elevation
elik 130.08 adj. alike
ellis 19.31 adv. else, other
elongacioun 75.01 removal [only example in *DOST*]
eloquens 164.24 n. eloquence; utterance, speech
emplesis 112.17 pres.; **emplesit** 60.27 p. p. to please, be pleased
emprice 72.24 n. empress, queen
empriour 35.28 n.; **empriouris** 112.01 pl. emperour
empyr 86.05 n.; **empiris** 86.08 pl. empire
enchantrice 38.04 n. enchantress [not in *DOST*]
enchew 73.17, **enchow** 152.22, **enschew** 61.11, **eschew** 161.08 v. to eschew, avoid
enchewing 153.12 vbl. n. action of avoiding or keeping clear of or escaping
enchow (*see* **enchew**)
end 32.17, **ende** 32.20 n.; **endis** 109.08 pl. end, purpose
endis 49.04 pres. to end
endur 84.01 v. to last
ene (*see* **e**)
enschew (*see* **enchew**)
entencioun 8.26 n.; **entenciounis** 109.08 pl. intention, purpose
enter 60.34 v.; **enteris** 14.05 pres.; **enterit** 109.27 p. t. to enter
entra 11.32 n. place of entrance
enuch 86.02 adj. enough, sufficient
epilogacioun 161.01 n. summing up
episcopale 159.16 adj. episcopal [not in *DOST*]
equal 94.19, equale 23.24 adj. equal
equite 104.09 n. equity
equiualent 50.23 adj. of equal value
er 41.37, **err** 127.18 v.; **erris** 42.16 pres.; **errit** 36.08 p. t. to err, go astray
erar 51.17 adv. sooner
erbe 136.02 n. herb
erd 23.23, **erde** 36.05 n. earth
erdlie 103.09 adj. earthly
erect 76.26 v.; **erekkit** 128.10 p. t., 121.28 p. p. to erect, to rouse up

ergo 23.13 adv. therefore
eris 33.08 pl. ear
erle 92.37 n. earl
errour 34.32 n.; **errouris** 36.10 pl. error
erubescence 17.14 n. reddening, blushing [according to *DOST*; apparently not in English before 18th c.
eschew (*see* **enchew**)
estait 74.17, estat 122.18 n. estate
estatis 107.08 pl. the three bodies composing the Scottish parliament
eternal 2.37, **eternale** 6.35, **eternall** 1.13, **eternalle** 70.22 adj. eternal, everlasting
eternaly 64.25 adv. eternally
eternite 69.29 n. eternity
eting 137.09 vbl. n. eating
euad 70.24, **euade** 61.11 v. to avoid
eucharist 6.24 n. the Eucharist
euidentlie 111.36 adv. clearly, obviously
euil 60.35, **euill** 1.22, **ewyle** 71.38 adj. evil
euill 27.21, **evil** 147.12 n.; **euillis** 70.24 pl. evil
euir 7.31 adv. ever, at any time
euirilk 21.11 adj. every, each
euirilkane 20.12 adj. every one
euirlestand 71.07 adj. everlasting
euuangel 6.11, **euuangell** 5.11 n.; **euuangellis** 38.32 pl. The Gospel
euuangelic 111.15 adj. of or pertaining to the faith or precepts of the Gospel, or to the Christian religion (speaking of justice) [first reference *OED*, 1502]
evil (*see* **euill** n.)
evin 62.17 adv. even
ewyle (*see* **euil** adj.)
exaccioun 126.19 n.; exaccionis 129.01 pl. exaction, oppressive demand
exaltis 17.04 pres.; **exaltit** 16.28 p. p. to extol
exampil 17.01, **exampill** 164.19 n.; **exemplis** 32.25 pl. example
examyn 89.01 v.; **examinit** 128.07 p. t. to examine
excedand 61.29 ppl. adj. very great
excedentlie 137.22 adv. exceedingly
excedis 48.05 pres. to exceed
excellens 10.27, **excellence** 91.01 n. excellence
excellent 3.26 adj. excellent, outstanding
excellis 93.18 pres. to surpass
excep 9.04 prep. except
excercicioun 91.32, **exercicioun** 81.18 n. exercise
excers 92.01, **exers** 56.08 v.; **excersis** 61.16 pres.; **exersand** 160.09 pr. p. to exercise
excusit 36.04 p. p. to excuse
execucioun 63.34 n. putting into effect
exemplar 113.03 n. example, model
exemplis (*see* **exampil**)
exercitacioun 92.06 n. exercise
exers, exersand (*see* **excers**)
expectacioun 68.29, **exspectacioun** 68.21 n. expectation
expedient 20.37 adj. fit, proper
expel 68.31, **expell** 68.12 v.; **expellit** 122.01 p. t. to expel, to drive out
experiens 32.36 n. experience
expert 32.13 adj. experienced, expert
expon 116.07, **expone** 122.17 v.; **exponis** 115.23 pres.; **exponand** 124.21 pr. p. to expound; to expose
exposicioun 157.32 n. exposition, explanation
expremyt 103.20 p. p. to express in words
expres 36.12 adj. express, explicit
expreslie 151.15 adv. definitely
exspectacioun (*see* **expectacioun**)

extendis 163.18 pres.; **extendit** 16.25 p. p. to extend
extensioun 34.08 extention [theological definition is not in *DOST*]
exterior 101.27 adj. external, outer, outward [first reference in *DOST*, 1533]
extorsiounis 133.04 pl. extortion
extreme 61.16 adj. extreme
extreme vnccioun 6.28 n. the sacrament of the last rites
extremite 61.18 n. extremity
eyn 75.24 pl. the eye

fable 37.38 n. fable, fiction
faccellie 73.21 adv. easily
face 17.21 n. face
facilite 75.17 n. easiness, readiness
facill 70.27 adj. easy to understand
faculte 100.13 n. faculty, ability
fader 7.27 n.; **faderis** 164.14 poss. father
failȝeis (*see* **falȝe**)
fair 73.07 adj. fair
faith 1.21 n. faith or belief (specifically, the Christian faith)
fall 1.13 v.; **fallis** 6.36 pres.; **fell** 50.07 p. t.; **fallin** 2.34 p. p. to fall
fallin 50.03 vbl. n. action of falling or coming down
fallouit 102.13, **fallowit** 27.26 p. p. to associate w/ another, to adopt as a mate
fallouschip 26.03 n.; **fallouschippis** 25.36 pl. fellowship, association
falow 135.38 n.; **fallouis** 102.11, **fallowis** 38.01 pl. fellow, associate
fals 3.18 adj. false
falshed 130.20, **falsheid** 122.13 n. falsehood
falslie 48.27, **falsly** 113.18 adv. falsely
falȝe 82.30 v.; **falȝeis** 4.08, **falȝeis** 73.02 pres.; **falȝeit** 81.29 p. t. to fail, fall short
fame 16.03 n. fame, renown, reputation
familiar 4.17 adj. intimate; domestic
fand 18.25 p. t. to make a trial of, prove
fantasie 34.14 n. fantasy, product of the imagination
far 140.34 adj. far
farnes 103.16 fairness
fassone 2.11 n. form, shape
fastand 140.02 pr. p. to fast
fastidiacioun 101.03 n. loathing, disgust; pride [not in *DOST* or *OED*, but cf. 'fastidiate' v. (*OED*, 1618) and 'fastidie' n. (*OED*, 1536)]
fasting 46.23 vbl. n. fasting
fauor 67.06 n. good will, favor
fauorand 142.36 ppl. adj. favoring, favorable [not in this form in *DOST*]
fauour 47.24 n. favor, good will
faute 12.38, **faut** 118.34 n.; **fautis** 53.02 pl. fault, offense; lack, want
fautis 50.28 pres. to commit fault
fautour 133.22 n.; **fautouris** 132.23 pl. delinquent, offender
fayrest 142.06 superl. adj. beautiful, pleasing
feicht 15.24 v. to fight
feild 122.20 n. field
feird 125.04 num. adj. fourth
feit 75.25 pl. foot
felicite 37.22 n. felicity
fell (*see* **fall**)
felouny 151.23 n. deliberate wickedness
fenȝeit 147.27 p. t. to pretend, feign
fer 14.17 adv. far
ferd 5.04 num. adj. fourth
ferme 120.14 adj. firm, strong
ferrar 25.34 compar. adv. further
festyn 63.32 v. to fasten
fever 55.31 n. fever
few 108.17 adj. few (used in absolute form)
fewar 92.11 compar. adj. fewer

ficcioun 163.15 n. feigning, pretence
fidelite 127.12 n. loyalty
fift 11.28 num. adj. fifth
figur 5.12 n.; figuris 33.21 pl. form, shape
figur 160.21 v.; **figurit** 7.37 p. p.; **figurand** 96.16 pr. p. to represent by a figure; to feign
fill 102.26 v.; **filis** 102.29, **fylis** 82.26 pres.; **filit** 26.02, **fylit** 38.26 p. p. to defile
fillit 71.21 p. p. to fill
filth 9.12 n. filth, moral foulness
final 3.08, **finale** 55.27, **finall** 110.05 adj. final
finaly 32.21 adv. finally
find 69.30, **finde** 69.29, **fynd** 30.26 v.; **found** 161.20, **fund** 93.16, **funde** 106.15 p. p. to find
fir 60.19, fyr 55.36 n. fire
firmament 132.10 n. the vault of heaven
first 2.01 num. adv. first
first 5.08 num. adj. first (**first** 16.13, **fyrst** 25.37—absolute)
fisch 20.26 n. fish
fittis 61.21 pres. to add up an account and place the sum at the foot of it
flatter 162.31 v. to flatter
flatterour 130.29, **flattorour** 130.23 [spelling not in *DOST* or *OED*] n.; **flatterouris** 162.26, **flatteraris** 130.18 pl. flatterer
flattry 113.34 n. flattery
fle 59.24 v. to run away, flee
fleis 37.30 pl. fly
flesch 10.05 n. flesh
fleschlie 135.21, **fleschly** 6.22 adj. of the flesh, carnal
flour 124.07 n. flower
flud 37.32 n. flood, river
folk 76.18 n. folk, people
followand 105.01, **folowand** 1.03 ppl. adj. following
followaris 13.04, **folowaris** 86.18 pl. follower
folou 26.15, folow 20.23 v.; **folouis** 26.20, **folowis** 41.25 pres.; **folouit** 100.31, **folowit** 84.38 p. t.; **followand** 163.33, **folowand** 128.38 pr. p. to follow
foly 71.21 n. foolishness
font 135.12 n. baptismal font
fontane 11.38, **fonten** 164.06 n.; **fontanis** 14.20 pl. fountain
for 1.05 prep. for
for 1.13 conj. for
for caus 3.08 conj. because
forbad 129.10 p. t. to forbid
forbearis 146.36 pl. ancestor
force 152.07, **fors** 112.32 n. force
foret 16.09, **forret** 17.07 n. forehead
forfautis 151.05 pres.; **forfautit** 151.29 p. t. to do amiss; to lose the right to possess
forgeue 133.16 v.; **forgevin** 46.31 p. p. to forgive
forgevnes 44.32 n. forgiveness
forgif 47.03 v. to forgive
formacioun 12.21 n. formation
formal 110.07 adj. essential; pertaining to the formal; to denote one of Aristotle's four causes [sense not in *DOST*]
forme 2.17 n.; **formys** 6.06 pl. form
formyt 98.05, **fourmyt** 3.32 p. p. to form
fornicacioun 11.03 n. fornication
forow 66.31 adv. beforehand
forret (*see* **foret**)
fors (*see* **force**)
forsaik 113.09 v.; **forsakin** 103.14 p. p. to forsake
fortefye 16.17 v.; **fortifyis** 76.38 pres.; **fortifyit** 59.30 p. p. to fortify
forthink 4.05 v.; **forthinkis** 45.20 pres.; **forthocht** 44.26 p. p.; **forthinkand** 45.30 pr. p. to repent
forthinking 45.09 vbl. n. repentance

fortificacioun 15.11 n. fortification
fortitud 74.18, **fortitude** 17.13 n. strength, endurance
fortunat 136.28 adj. fortunate
forȝet 41.20 v. to forget
foule 38.30 adj. foul
foule 133.17 n. fool
foulis 38.02 pl. bird
foundament 52.22, **foundment** 11.34 n. foundation
foundit 7.37 p. p. to establish
four 6.13 num. four
fourmyt (*see* **formyt**)
fow 134.04 adj. full
fra 1.12 prep. from
fragilite 45.11 n. weakness, frailty
franch 141.09 adj. French
fraternite 30.14 n.; **fraterniteis** 30.13 pl. brotherhood
fraude 155.25 n. deceit
fre 8.04 adj. free
fredome 51.35 n. freedom
freind 55.14, **frend** 161.30 n.; **frendis** 162.05, **freyndis** 67.24 pl. friend
frequent 28.04 v. to resort to often
froit 41.05 n., **froitis** 40.26 pl. fruit
fructuosite 101.11 n. fruitfulness [this is the only example in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1727]
fructuisly 14.22 adv. fruitfully [spelling not in *DOST* or *OED*]
frut 41.12, **frute** 2.38, **fruyt** 101.02 n.; **frutis** 11.08 pl. fruit
ful 133.23, **fule** 133.20 n.; **fulis** 162.23 pl. fool
fulfill 61.36 v. to fulfill
full 20.02 adj. full
fund, funde (*see* **find**)
fundacioun 93.37 foundation
furnace 60.19 n. furnace
furor 62.02 n. fury
furth 8.01 adv. forth
fut ball 139.29 n. football
fute 33.04 n. foot
fylis, fylit (*see* **fill**)
fyn 27.37 n. the end (purpose)
fynd (*see* **find**)
fyr (*see* **fir**)
fyrst (*see* **first**)

ga 140.34 v. to go
gaderit 134.09 p. t. to gather
gaf (*see* **gif** v.)
gait 47.25, **gate** 140.34 n. way, road, path
gallous 132.24 pl. the gallows
ganand 1.28 ppl. adj. fit, suitable
gang 87.15 v. to go
gar 23.26 v.; **garris** 71.18 pres.; **gart** 124.12 p. t. to cause
gat (*see* **get**)
gate (*see* **gait**)
gave (*see* **geue**)
gebet 132.23 n. gibbet
generacioun 6.33, **generacioune** 11.26 n.; **generaciounis** 14.30 pl. generation
general 90.16, **generale** 5.02 adj. general
generali 106.22 adv. in general
generis 52.33 pres.; **generit** 14.05 p. p. to generate, beget
gentill 139.26 adj. gentle of birth (in phrase gentill men)
gentilnes 142.03 n. the quality of being gentle
gentrice 142.24 adj. the character or behavior of one of gentle rank
ger 36.10 v. to cause (something to be done); to make (a person or thing do something)
gers 122.20 n. grass
get 1.15 v.; **gettis** 6.33 pres.; **gat** 57.02 p. t.; **gottin** 134.24 p. p. to get
geue 64.01 v.; **geuis** 27.14, **gevis** 2.04 pres.; **gave** 84.05 p. t.; **gevin** 1.24 p. p.; **gevand** 12.17 pr. p. to give
gevand (*see* **geue**)
gevar 13.02 n. giver

geve 60.10 conj. if
gevin 94.12 vbl. n. giving, conferring
gevin (*see* **geue**)
gevis (*see* **geue**)
giddir (*see* **to giddir**)
gif 1.12 v.; **gaf** 35.16 p. t. to give
gif 6.34 conj. if
gift 10.11, **gyfte** 52.11 n.; **giftis** 2.16 pl. gift
giltyn 17.16 adj. golden, gilded, gilt
glor 2.37 n. glory
glorificable 110.09 adj. glorifiable [only example in *DOST*]
glorius 1.07 adj. glorious
glutony 126.02 n. gluttony
god 88.30 n.; **goddis** 124.04 pl., 134.04 poss. god
goddes 117.22 n. goddess
godheid 55.24 n. divine nature
gold 63.02 n. gold
goldin 148.28 adj. golden
gottin (*see* **get**)
gouernance 146.25, **gouernans** 116.06, **gouernaunce** 36.07, **gouernauns** 34.31 n. the act of governing; personal conduct
gouerne 26.15, **gowern** 119.10, **gowerne** 109.36 v.; **gouernis** 36.17 pres.; **gouernit** 117.26 p. t., 67.31 p. p. to govern
gouernit 20.01 ppl. adj. governed, ruled
gouernour 19.29 n.; **gouernouris** 121.36 pl. governor
gouernyng 104.08 vbl. n. governing
govn 71.27 n. gown
grace 1.12 n. grace
graithit 45.19 p. p. to prepare
gratificacioun 40.27 n. recompense, return; gratuity
grauite 118.20 n. seriouness; grave bearing
graunt 15.15 v.; **grauntis** 69.34 pres.; **grauntit** 85.31 p. t., 79.24 p. p. to grant
gre 30.28 n.; **greis** 30.27 pl. degree, step
greit 165.25, **gret** 2.16, **grete** 162.13 adj. great
gret 8.05 p. t. to weep
gretar 32.26 compar. adj. greater
gretast 108.23, **gretest** 73.21 superl. adj. greatest
greting 46.23 vbl. n. weeping
gretlie 4.25 adv. greatly
groslie 54.26 adv. roughly, without refinement
grosly 34.12 adv. materially [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1585]
ground 134.24 n. ground
grow 2.02 v.; **growis** 7.18 pres.; **growin** 147.23 p. p. to grow
growand 37.31 ppl. adj. growing
gud 3.01 n. the good
gud 6.17, **gude** 105.15 adj. good
gudis 78.22 pl. goods; cattle, livestock
gudlie 147.07 adj. goodly
gudlie 163.38 adv. goodly
gudnes 10.30 n. goodness
gust 16.20 n. taste
gustis 34.19 pres. to taste; to be agreeable to the taste
gyant 134.29 n. giant
gyfte (*see* **gift**)

habilite 53.10 n. aptitude; a faculty
habit 54.35 n.; **habitis** 58.11 pl. habit
habitacioun 64.24 n. residence
habituall 53.20 adj. inwardly disposed
habitudis 25.36 pl. intimate relationship [Ireland is the only authority cited in *DOST*]
haboundis 126.02 pres. to overflow
habundanly 17.12 adv. abundantly
habundaunce 9.31 n. abundance; a flood
haffand 56.12 pr. p. to have
hail 96.05, haill 32.06 adj. whole

hailstanis 12.04, **hail stanys** 12.01 pl. hailstone
hald 138.11, **hauld** 55.13 v.; **haldis** 68.02, **hauldis** 160.12 pres.; **haldin** 133.17 p. p.; **haldand** 46.02 pr. p. to hold, keep
half 34.05 n. half
halikyrk 97.29, **halykyrk** 5.32 n. the Church
halines 25.11 n. holiness
hallowit 3.10 p. p. consecrated
haly 1.03 adj. holy
halyscriptur 18.02 n. the Bible
halywrit 42.33 n. holy writings; the Bible
hand 33.04 n.; handis 42.16 pl. hand
hand bow 139.28 n. hand-bow or long-bow, as distinguished from a cross-bow
handfast 142.11 p. p. to betroth (by the joining of hands)
happin 27.32 v.; **happynnis** 153.19 pres.; **happynnit** 148.34 p. t. to happen
hard (*see* **hear**)
hardely 15.29 adv. hardily, boldly, confidently
hardines 8.03, hardiness 15.27 n. boldness, courage
hardy 15.16 adj. hardy, bold, stout
harnes 140.20 n. harness, armor
hart 20.04 n., **hartis** 16.29 pl. heart
hartlie 20.08 adj. pertaining to the heart; sincere
hastely 72.10 adv. speedily
hastines 161.17 n. hasty temper; haste
hatis 61.12 pres.; **hatit** 123.26 p. p. to hate
hatrent 26.09 n. hatred
haue 1.06 pres.; **has** 1.17 pres.; **had** 2.34 p. t.; **havand** 62.28 pr. p. to have
hauld, hauldis (*see* **hald**)
hay 122.20 n. hay
he 1.14 pron. he
hear 127.20 comp. adv. higher
heir 47.01 v., **her** 136.04 v.; **heris** 33.08 pres.; **hard** 131.07 p. t. to hear
hecht 157.23 n. height
hed 112.26, **heid** 20.13 n.; **heidis** 90.13 pl. head
heill 5.29 v.; **heilis** 75.31, **helis** 77.16 pres.; **helit** 6.37 p. p. to heal
heill 5.30, **hel** 75.37 n. health
heir 19.22, her 125.28 adv. here
heit 20.18 n. heat
hel (*see* **heill** n.)
hell 10.22 n. hell
help 2.32, helpe 60.13 n. help
help 12.13 v.; **helpis** 30.04 pres.; **helpit** 64.18 p. t., 32.15 p. p. to help
helpar 125.15 n. one who helps or assists
hendring 81.30 vbl. n. hindering, damage
her (*see* **heir** adv.)
herb 145.03, **herbe** 139.05 n.; **herbis** 92.30 pl. herb
heresi 103.34, **heresie** 84.33, **herrecy** 165.05, **herresie** 12.25 n.; **heresiis** 12.25, **herreseis** 103.22 pl. heresy
heretage 72.16, **heritag** 148.04, **heritage** 134.38 n. heritage
heretar 9.25 n. inheritor
herretik 84.35 n.; **herretikis** 12.33, **herretykis** 135.16 pl. heretic
hert 38.36 n. heart
hertlie 47.25 adv. from or with the heart, sincerely, heartily
het 101.24 n. heat (figuratively, passion)
hevely 52.38 adv. heavily
heviest 53.30 superl. adj. heaviest
hevin 3.24 n.; **hevynnis** 92.29 pl. heaven
hevines 69.31 n. heaviness
hevinly 1.12 adj. heavenly

hevy 10.32 adj. heavy
hiar 157.18, **hier** 30.27 compar. adj. higher
hie 2.05 adj. high
hienes 104.03, **hieness** 152.11 n. highness (a title)
hier (*see* **hiar**)
hiest 30.35 superl. adj. highest
hill 157.28 n. hill, a (low) mountain
him 2.04, **hym** 113.07, **hyme** 73.03 pron. him
him self 51.11 himself
hir 72.26, *hyr* 105.11 pron.; *hirris* 66.15 poss. her
his 1.07 poss. pron. his
historiane 123.12 n. historian [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1531]
hois 71.27 n. hose
honest 100.23 adj.
honeste 139.30 n. honesty
honor 55.25, honour 10.36 n. honor
honorable 10.23 n. honorable
honorabli 142.22, **honorablie** 6.07, **honorably** 134.38 adv. in an honorable manner
honour 17.27 v.; **honoris** 84.21 pres.; **honorit** 4.25 p. p.; **honorand** 3.06 pr. p. to honor
hop 11.13, **hope** 39.09 n. hope
hornis 134.20 pl. horn
horrible 86.01 adj. horrible, causing or inspiring horror
horrour 64.03 n. horror
hors 118.35 n. horse
horsemen 134.30 pl. horseman
host 32.06, **hoste** 8.07 n.; **hosteis** 33.22 pl. the consecrated wafer in the eucharist
hou 1.06, **how** 1.03 adv. how
hour 70.11 n.; **houris** 140.13 pl. hour
hous 5.31 n.; **housis** 133.04 pl. house
houshald 158.30 n. household
humane 24.35 adj. human
humanite 1.17 n. humanity
humely 6.07 adv. humbly
humidite 37.31, **humedite** 117.38 n. moisteness, moisture
humiliacioun 3.04 n. humiliation, humility
humilite 55.25 n. humility
humoris 48.18, **humouris** 128.30 pl. humour (one of the bodily humors)
humyl 165.24 adj. humble
humyll 45.13 v.; **humilis** 68.24 pres.; **humylyand** 37.15 pr. p. to humble
hunder 57.11 num. hundred
hundreth 33.35 num.adj. hundred
hungry 134.06 adj. hungry
hur 10.22 n. prostitute
hurt 134.03 ppl. adj. hurt
hurtis 12.38 pres.; **hurt** 133.38 p. p. to hurt, injure
husband 97.30 n. husband
hyd 45.33 p. p. hidden, secret
hym, hyme (*see* **him**)
hyn 58.08, **hyne** 69.27 adv. hence
hyndris 30.03 pres. to hinder
hyr (*see* **hir**)
hyrd 141.13 n. the keeper of a herd

I 1.09 pron. I
ierachie 157.19 n. (angelic) hierarchy
ignominius 17.26 adj. ignominious [first reference in *DOST*, 1577]
ignoraunce 6.18 n. ignorance
ile 71.12 n. ill
ilk 8.36 adj. each, the same
ilkane 5.11 pron. each one
ill 146.03 n. isle
illuminacioun 32.24 n. illumination [not in *DOST*]
illumine 117.16 v. to illuminate
immateriall 109.02 adj. immaterial [not in *DOST*]
impediment 58.15 n. impediment
imperfeccioun 2.04 n.; **imperfeccionis** 38.28 pl. imperfection
imperfit 71.19 adj. imperfect
imposit 109.38 p. p. to impose

impossible 47.16 adj. impossible
impressit 52.20 p. p. to impress, imprint
imprimys 57.06 pres. to begin [sense not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1637]
in 1.06 prep. in
in 2.08 prep. into
incarnacioun 97.34 v. the incarnation of Christ
incertitud 70.10 n. uncertainty, doubt
inclinacioun 25.14 n., **inclinaciounis** 29.22 pl. inclination
includit 160.06 p. p. to include
inclyn 51.12 v.; **inclinis** 51.15, **inclynis** 163.17 pres.; **inclinit** 29.20 p. p.; inclinand 56.01 pr. p. to incline
incogitable 7.25 adj. unthinkable [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1522]
incontinent 11.30, in continent 123.07 adv. immediately
incontrar 6.14 prep. contrary to (*sometimes* **in contrar**)
inconuenient 128.18 adj. not befitting, inappropriate
inconuenientis 147.06 pl. trouble, inconvenience
incorporate 9.23 p. p. to incorporate
incorruptible 72.30 adj. not liable to corruption
increat 106.28 adj. uncreated
incredible 37.27 adj. unbelievable
incres 95.09 v., **incressis** 126.07 pres. to increase
incur 60.03 v.; **incurris** 26.10 pres.; **incurrit** 6.35 p. t., 48.33 p. p. to incur, to run into
indeterminacioun 70.10 n. the condition of being indeterminate [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1649]
indigence 116.15 n. poverty, scarcity
indignacioun 68.25 n. indignation
indigne 137.22 adj. unworthy, undeserving
indispensable 112.16 adj. pertaining to law: that cannot be dispensed with or remitted [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1653]
indissoluble 96.13 adj. incapable of being dissolved [first reference in *DOST*, 1568]
inducciоun 34.32 n. inducement
induce 2.08 v.; **inducis** 51.27 pres.; **inducit** 13.04 p. t.; **induceand** 70.09 pr. p. to induce
indulgence 1.15, **indulgens** 45.10 n. indulgence
indur 60.16 v.; **induris** 60.16 pres. to endure
inequite 71.38 n. iniquity
infallabilite 70.10 n. infallibility [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1611]
infeccioun 10.04 n. infection
infekkis 58.27 pres.; **infekit** 26.02, **infekkit** 9.06 p. p. to infect
inferiorite 80.03 n. inferiority [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1599]
infernall 103.09 adj. infernal
infidelis 86.07 pl. infidel
infidelite 113.12 n. infidelity
infinit 7.20; **infynit** 10.29 adj. infinite
infirmite 5.29 n.; infirmiteis 75.33 pl. infirmity
inflexibill 68.36 adj. unalterable
influens 64.34 n. influence
informacioun 86.19 n. information
informe 6.20 v. to inform, to instruct
infusioun 18.12 n. infusion
iniquite 61.12 n. iniquity
iniune 89.05 v.; **iniunys** 51.31 pres.; **iniunyt** 58.04 p. t.; **iniunand** 60.07 pr. p. to enjoin
iniur 54.08 n. injury, offence
iniurius 147.22 adj. injurious

iniust 110.01 adj. unjust, wrongful
iniustice 133.13, **iniustis** 151.13 n. unjust or wrongful action [used as a reference in *DOST*
inmediat 91.14 adj. immediate
inmediatlie 40.14 adv. directly, immediately
inmortal 103.17, **inmortale** 10.29 adj. immortal
innemy 10.22 n.; **innemeis** 15.25 pl. enemy
innocens 50.03 n. innocence
inobediens 109.18 n. disobedience
inobedient 156.04 adj. disobedient
inordinat 54.17 adj. inordinate, immoderate, irregular
inordinatlie 53.38 adv. irregularly, intemperately, improperly
inpassibill 32.09, **inpassible** 20.35 adj. impassible; incapable of suffering; unsusceptible of injury
inperfecciounis 38.29 pl. imperfection
inpossible 47.15 adj. impossible
inprimys 91.29 pres. to begin
inproffitable 14.15 adj. unprofitable [used as a reference in *DOST*]
inprudence 119.09 n. indiscretion, rashness; want of prudence [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1541]
inpungnis 67.02 pres. to impugne, question the property or the truth of
insafer 110.20 conj. in so far, inasmuch
insensible 2.06 adj. unfeeling, inappreciable
inseparable 96.13 adj. inseparable [one reference (from Sir David Lyndsay's *Dreme*) in *DOST*]
inseparably 63.36 adv. inseparably; indissolubly [not in *DOST*, first reference in *OED*, 1490]
institucioun 32.03 n. institution
institut 22.32 p. t., 1.24 p. p. to institute, establish
instruccioun 32.24 n. instruction
instruct 137.02, **instruk** 158.19 v.; **instrukkit** 153.15 p. p.; **instrukkand** 105.06 pr. p. to teach
instrument 10.19 n.; instrumentis 2.19 pl. instrument
instrumentale 10.01 a. instrumental [first reference in *DOST*, 16th c.]
integrat 93.07 adj. composite; made up, as a whole, or separate parts [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1485]
intellectiue 87.23 adj. intelligent, intellectual
intellectuale 14.16 adj. having intelligence [Ireland is the only authority cited in *DOST*]
interior 16.10 adj. inward, internal [first reference in *DOST*, mid 16th c.]
interpret 112.18 p. p. to interpret
intollerable 61.29 adj. unbearable
introducis 89.12 pres.; **introducit** 124.18 p. t. to introduce [first reference in *DOST*, 16th c.]
inuisible 2.03 adj. invisible
inuisibly 27.36 adv. invisibly, imperceptibly [not in *DOST*]
inwart 101.28 adj. inward
inymaginable 61.30 adj. unimaginable
iocundite 75.17 n. mirth, joyousness, enjoyment
ioy 1.13 n. joy
irascible 107.03 adj. that part of the soul where courage and passions reside, easily provoked or prone to anger [not in *DOST*]
ire 68.33 n. anger, wrath
irne 38.14 n. iron [an unusual usage, whereby the element is purported to be transformed by the digestion of an animal]

is (*see* **be**)
ise 12.01 n. ice
it 1.14 pron. it
iteracioun 8.28 n. the repetition of an action [first reference in *DOST*, 16th c.]
iuge 1.22 v.; **iugis** 61.21 pres.; **iugit** 133.09 p. t., 4.25 p. p. to judge
iuge 47.01 n.; **iugis** 52.04 pl. judge
iugement 46.11 n.; **iugementis** 113.32 pl. judgement
iune 26.38 v.; **iunys** 25.31 pres.; **iunit** 97.13, **iunyt** 9.12 p. p.; **iunand** 136.05 pr. p. to join
iurament 85.21 n. oath [Ireland's is the only usage in *DOST*]
iurisdiccioun 92.19, **iurisdiccioune** 107.28 n.; **iurisdiccionis** 112.26 pl. jurisdiction
iurist 106.17 n. a jurist [used as a reference in *DOST*]
iust 86.05, **iuste** 86.14 adj. just
iustice 11.15 n. justice
iusting 139.28 vbl. n. jousting, tilting; joust or tournament

keip 72.35, kep 118.18, **kepe** 127.13 v.; **kepis** 4.07 pres.; **kepit** 11.01 p. p.; **kepand** 3.01 pr. p. to keep
keping 117.23 vbl. n. keeping
kest 25.24 n. chest
keyis 84.04 pl. key
kindnes 20.08 n. kindness, affection, love
king 3.22, **kinge** 153.10 n. king
kirk 90.15, **kyrk** 1.24 n.; **kyrkis** 125.38 pl. the Church
knaw 1.23 v.; **knawis** 33.12 pres.; **knew** 142.10 p. t.; **knawin** 4.20 p. p.; **knawand** 36.16 pr. p. to know
knawlage 1.27 n. knowledge
knycht 15.16 n.; **knychtis** 17.20 pl. knight
knychtheid 17.16 n. knighthood
kow 134.19 n. cow
kyn 150.16 n. kin, kinsfolk
kynch 120.09 n. throw of the dice; one's lot or fortune
kyrk, kyrkis (*see* **kirk**)
kyrkman 81.20 n.; **kyrkmen** 6.02 pl. churchman

lac 55.17 n. injury, insult
lady 10.23 n.; **ladeis** 6.22 pl. lady
laical 93.04, **laicale** 92.34, **laicall** 93.21 adj. of the laity
laif 8.36, **laiff** 158.16 n. the remainder, the rest
lait 140.03 adj. late
lak 55.12 n. injury, insult
lamentabli 127.29 adv. dolefully
lampis 7.19 pl. lamp
land 86.18 n.; **landis** 151.18 pl. land
lang 33.24, **lange** 60.15 adv. long (in time)
lang 68.21 adj. long
langage 38.35 n. language
langar 76.32 compar. adv. longer
langour 75.13 n. sickness; distress, grief
last 6.30 adj. last
lat 121.19 v. to let
latin 12.05 adj. Latin
latt 11.19 n. hindrance, obstruction
lattis 30.03 pres.; **lattit** 74.14 p. p. to hinder, restrain
lauborar 92.35 n.; **lauboraris** 123.06 pl. labourer
laubour 14.21 v.; lauboris 71.23 pres.; laubourand 113.28 pr. p. to work
laubour 73.17 n. labour, work
lauchfully 100.17 adv. lawfully
laud 93.17, **laude** 41.27, **lawde** 12.11 adj. lay, secular, unlearned
laute 10.38, **lawte** 46.04 n. loyalty, faithfulness
law 1.10 n.; **lawis** 104.08 pl. law
law 147.26 adj. low
lawar 88.23 compar. adv. lower
lawast 92.31 superl. adj. lowest

laxatiue 49.01 n. natural looseness or movement of the bowels
le 22.34 v. to lie
lear 22.33 n. liar
lector 73.32 n.; lectouris 143.02 pl. reader
led 2.08 v., 119.02 p. t., 122.16 p. p.; **ledis** 10.02 pres. to lead
ledar 71.12 n. leader
leddir 21.19 n. ladder
lefand 61.18 ppl. adj. living
leffand 79.28 pr. p. to live
left 117.14 adj. left (used in absolute sense)
lefull 101.21 adj. morally or legally permissible
lege 33.04 n.; **leggis** 157.26 pl. leg
legis 135.04 pl. liege
legist 106.17 n.; **legistis** 115.05 pl. one versed in the law
leif 53.23 v.; **lefis** 53.02 pres.; **left** 118.33 p. t., 39.01 p. p. to leave
leill 32.13 adj. loyal
lelest 162.06 superl. adj. most loyal
lemmane 11.02 n. lover, concubine
lenth 43.07 n. length
lentryn 56.29 n. Lent
leonis 38.05 pl. lion
ler 136.04 v. to learn
les 22.10 adj. less
lesing 47.15 vbl. n. lying
lesis 68.36 pres. to lose
lest 33.03 superl. adj. least
lestis 60.04 pres.; **lestit** 83.25 p. p. to last
letter 33.36 n. letter (in the alphabet)
levand 41.12 ppl. adj. living
liand 156.09 pr. p. to lie (down)
liberale 137.17 adj. liberal, free
liberalite 123.34 n. liberality
liberte 13.06 n. liberty
libidinuse 25.03 adj. lustful, lecherous
lichorus 100.25 adj. lecherous
lichory 45.34 n. lechery
licht 38.29, lycht 158.20 n. light
licht 70.25 adj. light, not heavy (in various senses)
lichtlie 70.24 adv. lightly
lier 47.13 n. lier
lif 1.26, **life** 6.37 n.; **lifis** 115.30, **liffis** 14.28 pl. life
lif 31.16, **life** 159.36 v.; **lifis** 126.08 pres.; **liffit** 134.33 p. t. to live
liffing 108.03, **lifing** 111.29 vbl. n. living
lift 34.05, sky, the heavens
lift 36.26 v.; **liftis** 77.07 pres.; **liftit** 88.15, **lyftit** 150.22 p. p. to lift
lik 27.04 adj. like, alike
limitacioun 36.18 n. limitation
linag 111.06, **linage** 24.35, **lynage** 109.36 n. lineage
linitive 16.34 adj. soothing, relaxing
lippis 75.24 pl. lip
liquor 12.01 n. liquid
litle 31.25 adj. little
litstar 87.17 n. dyer
live 165.22 v. to live
loch 11.38 n. loch, lake
locioun 9.19 n. the action of washing; a liquid preparation [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1400]
lofe 138.31 v. to praise, extol
lord 10.25, **lorde** 138.15 n.; **lordis** 93.35 pl. lord, one who exercise dominion
lordschip 113.29 n. lordship
louetennand 46.38 n. vicegerent, governor regent
louit 103.04 ppl. adj. honored, esteemed
lovable 52.01 adj. praiseworthy
loving 73.33 vbl. n. praise, honor
lovit 131.07 p. t.; **lowit** 142.32 p. p.; **lovand** 155.28 pr. p. to praise, extol
luf 10.30, lufe 59.13 n. love
luf 19.27 v.; **lufis** 20.04 pres.; **lufit** 142.12 p. t.; **luffit** 4.17 p. p. to love
lufit 1.25 ppl. adj. beloved, dear

luk 69.28 v. to look
lust 66.14 n. pleasure; appetite, desire
ly 141.31 v. to lie (down)
lycht (*see* **licht**)
lyf 134.38, **lyff** 108.13 v.; **lyffis** 64.36, **lyfis** 125.17 pres.; **lyfit** 124.26 p. t. to live
lyffaris 36.33 pl. one who lives
lyffing 93.12, **lyfing** 109.07 vbl. n. living, means of living
lyftit (*see* **lift**)
lyis 66.15 pres. to lie, as in bed, for sexual intercourse
lyn 144.04 line
lynage (*see* **linag**)

ma 51.03, **may** 1.16 v.; **mycht** 12.34 p. t. may
magnificens 123.37 n. magnificence
magnifiit 97.23 p. p. to magnify
magnitud 157.23 n. greatness, grandeur
maieste 7.21 n. majesty
maill 123.16 adj. rent, payment
maist 22.10 adv. largest, chief, most (to form superlative)
maister 11.26, master 5.07 n.; masteris 117.30 pl. master
mak 4.05 v.; **makis** 5.07 pres.; **maid** 2.36 p. t.; **mad** 44.27, **maid** 4.14 p. p.; **makand** 45.31 pr. p. to make
makar 50.29 n. maker, creator
malady 6.35 n. ill health, disease
maledicciоun 85.34 n.; **malediccionis** 125.37 pl. malediction, curse
malice 81.30 n. malice; active dislike, rancour; wickedness
man 1.13 n.; **man** 1.22, **men** 2.10 pl.; **mannis** 3.27, **mennis** 36.06 poss. man
manducacioun 21.27 n. the action of chewing or eating
maner 1.23 n.; **maneris** 24.21 pl. manner
manifest 2.25 v.; **manifestis** 48.24 pres.; **manifest** 46.18 p. p. to make plain; to demonstrate; to reveal
manifest 51.24 adj. manifest, plainly evident, patent
manifestacioun 2.18 n. manifestation
manifestlie 15.26 adv. clearly, openly, evidently
mankind 65.05 n. mankind
mansuering 122.13 vbl. n. forswearing
mar 3.21 adv. more (to form comparative)
mar 12.15 pron. more
mar 16.21 adj. more
mariag 95.02, mariage 6.22 n. marriage
marquys 92.37 n. marquis
marye 96.08 v.; maryit 96.22 p. t.; **mariit** 101.08, **maryit** 11.06 p. p. to marry
maryt 103.29 ppl. adj. married
mast 19.26 adv. most (to form superlative)
master, masteris (*see* **maister**)
masterfull 134.06 adj. overbearing, violent, powerful
mastres 102.13 n. mistress; a woman who wields authority
mater 1.09 n.; **materis** 14.22 pl. matter
material 62.38, **materiall** 62.35 adj. material; physical; corporeal
materialy 34.12 adv. materially, with regard to matter as opposed to form [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1502)
matrimone 98.21 n. matrimony
maturite 118.20 n. maturity
may (*see* **ma**)
me 33.08 pron. me
me think 140.33 impersonal v. it seems to me
mediatrix 125.14 n. female mediator

medicinar 32.13, **medycinar** 5.30 n.; **medicinaris** 25.05 pl. physician
meditacioun 156.23 n. meditation
medycyn 2.30, **medycyne** 6.03 n.; **medicinis** 1.04, **medycinis** 14.24, **medycynis** 1.11 pl. medicine
meid 36.37 n. reward for merit, meed
meid wif 12.08 n. mid wife
meit 123.10 n. meat, food
mekle 3.36 adv. much
mekle 16.26 adj. large, much
meknes 16.38 n. meekness; kindness, mercy
melland 136.06 pr. p. mixing
mellis 131.04 pres. to involve oneself with
member 4.16 n.; membris 19.05 pl. member
memor 51.05 n. memory
men (*see* **man**)
mencioun 94.23 n.
mene 30.07 n. means, agency
menis 134.33, **menys** 117.32 pres.; **menit** 160.17 p. t. to mean, intend
mennis (*see* **man**)
merchandis 110.18 pl. merchant
merci 123.30, **mercy** 1.16 n. mercy
mercifull 16.36 adj. merciful
mercifully 70.35 adv. mercifully
merit 7.30, **meryt** 7.23 n.; **meritis** 25.20 pl. merit
meritor 60.08 adj. meritorious
merour 33.27 n. mirror
mervalus 92.01, **merwalus** 37.28 adj. marvellous
merwalit 131.08 p. t. to marvel
merwel 156.19, **merwell** 2.33 n.; **merwalis** 32.26, **merwellis** 32.35 pl. miraculous event; a wonder, marvel
mes 31.08 n. the Mass
mes buk 38.32 n. missal
mesour 134.25, **mesur** 136.08 n. measure
messinger 83.32 n. messenger
mesur (*see* **mesour**)
met 136.09, **mete** 12.13 n.; **metis** 16.34 pl. food, meat
metall 158.08 n. metal
metir 164.25 n. metrical composition; verse
meyn 2.35, **meyne** 3.09 n. means, an agency
minister 9.13, **mynister** 82.14 n.; **ministaris** 84.18, **ministeris** 7.16 pl. minister, a priest
minister 12.34, **mynister** 78.21 v; **ministeris** 8.25 pres.; **ministerit** 128.07 p. t., 12.02 p. p.; **ministrand** 84.12 pr. p. to administer
ministracioun 11.36 n. ministration
mirakle 21.37 n. miracle
miserable 115.10 adj. miserable
misere 50.08, **miser** 74.06 n. misery, wretchedness [second spelling not in *DOST* or *OED*; see textual note]
missioun 18.05 n. the sending of the third person in the Trinity for the production of a temporal effect [not in *DOST*; first reference in *OED*, 1609]
mister 12.13 n. need, necessity
mister 77.10 v.; **misteris** 6.38 pres.; **misterit** 35.34 p. t. to require, to need or have need of; to be necessary
mistice 24.09 adj. mystical, spiritual
mixt 69.02 p. p. to mix, mingle
mocioun 37.34 n. motion, movement
moder 9.05 n.; moderis 3.32 poss. mother
molestacioun 76.30 n. vexatious interference, an obstacle
mon 7.02, **mone** 9.09 v. must
mone 36.06 n. moon
monarche 140.38 n. monarchy
monethis 139.04 pl. month
montane 157.27 n. mountain
mony 14.09 adj. many
monyar 92.10 compar. adj. more

moral 103.34, **morale** 11.14, **morall** 164.06 adj. moral
morne 157.03 n. morne, morning
mortal 48.37, **mortale** 6.16, **mortall** 45.38 adj. mortal
motif 68.34, **motive** 67.28 n.; **motiuis** 124.32 pl. motive
mouth 47.32 n.; **mouthis** 70.03 pl. mouth
move 120.13 v.; **movis** 120.11 pres. to move; to set in motion
multiplicacioun 6.30 n. multiplication
multiply 133.28 v.; **multipliit** 29.11, **multiplyit** 7.16 p. p. to multiply
multitud 30.12 n. multitude
murnyng 46.23 vbl. n. grieving, sorrow, mourning
murthur 109.26 n. murder
mutacioun 23.02 n. change, mutation
my 127.30 poss. pron. my
mycht 3.13 n. might
mycht (*see* **ma**)
mychti 108.37, **mychty** 10.25, **mychtty** 142.30 adj. mighty
myddis 149.19 adj. in the middle
myn 132.21 poss. pron. mine
mynd 20.04 n. the mind
myng 155.16 v.; **myngit** 17.01 p. p. to mix, mingle
mynister (*see* **minister** n.)
mynister (*see* **minister** v.)
mynȝeoun 55.13 n.; **mynȝeounis** 130.23 pl. minion, favorite
myr 116.11 n. myrrh
myrknes 10.05 n. darkness, blindness
mysteris 6.36 pres.; **mysterit** 109.15 p. t. to require, need

na 3.22 conj. than
na 6.35 conj. nor
na 36.38 adv. no
na 1.16 adj. no
nacioun 139.18 n.; **naciounis** 122.32 pl. nation
nalis 27.19 pl. nail
name 9.16 n.; **names** 120.22 pl. name
namlie 71.02 adv. specifically, namely
nane 34.19 pron. no one
natiuite 15.02 n.; **natiuiteis** 14.30 pl. birth, nativity
natur 2.26, **nature** 29.05 n.; **naturis** 2.28 pl. nature
natural 20.20, **naturale** 11.37, **naturall** 20.16 adj. natural
naturali 79.36 adv. naturally
necessar 1.05 adj. necessary, appropriate, convenient
necessite 12.20 n. necessity
nedit 35.34 p. t. to need
neir 7.29 prep. close to, near
nemmyt 119.14 p. p. to name
nerar 148.17, **nerrar** 80.23 compar. adv. nearer
nernes 145.16 n. nearness
nes 75.24 n. nose
net 125.23 n. net
nethmest 92.28 adj. lowest, farthest down
neuir 4.08 adv. never
neuirtheles 26.09 adv. nevertheless
new 1.10 adj., 106.13 absol. new (*also in adverbial expression* **of new** 5.25)
new 149.32 adv. recently; anew
next 108.23 adj. next, nearest
nobilite 93.09 n. nobility, noble rank
nobillar 83.37 compar. adj. more noble
noble 2.05 adj. noble
noble 122.16 n.; **nobillis** 123.03, **noblis** 123.15 pl. member of the nobility; a person of noble rank
nocht 2.17 adv. not
nor 16.33 conj. nor
nothir 163.06, nouthir 12.02, nowthir 162.25 conj. neither
now 18.30 adv. now
nowmer 141.12 n. number
noy 123.25 v. to annoy, vex, irritate

nopir 33.17 conj. neither
nukis 120.09 pl. corner
nuris 39.08, **nurys** 67.32 v.; **nurisis** 68.02, **nurysis** 158.37 pres.; **nurist** 7.05 p. p. to sustain, nourish, rear
nurising 18.31, **nurysing** 20.17 vbl. n. the action of nourishing
nurysar 71.11 n. one who nourishes
nutricioun 6.34 n. nourishment [the *Meroure* is the only authority cited in *DOST*]
nutriment 20.21 n. that which nourishes
nvsible 144.14 adj. not in *DOST*, but apparently related to 'noysum', 'nusum'; hence, injurious; troublesome
nychtbur 133.07 n. neighbor
nynty 165.26 num. adj. ninety

o 71.21 interj. o, oh
obedians 141.13, **obedience** 59.13, **obediens** 54.04 n. obedience
obey 36.30 v.; **obeis** 158.15, **obeyis** 26.18 pres.; **obeyit** 141.05 p. t., 94.06 p. p.; **obeyand** 3.01 pr. p. to obey
oblacioun 7.23 n.; **oblaciounis** 116.11 pl. offering
obligacioun 45.12 n. obligation, commitment
oblis 72.01 v.; **oblisis** 18.12 pres.; **oblist** 27.26 p. t., 11.03 p. p. to oblige, bind
obscur 110.33 adj. obscure
obseruacioun 24.22 n. the observing of anything prescribed
obseruit 106.32 p. p. to observe, adhere to
obstakle 8.20 n. obstacle or hindrance
obteyne 151.15 v. to obtain
occasioun 68.19, occasioune 67.28 n. occasion
occult 76.38 adj. hidden, concealed
occupy 34.02 v.; **occupiis** 150.08, **occupyis** 34.03 pres.; **occupiit** 157.03 p. t.; **occupyand** 34.12 pr. p. to occupy
occurris 112.02 pres. to befall; to appear
odor 76.06, **odour** 16.02 n. odour, scent
of prep.: 1.07 of, 2.06 by, 2.05 from (*also in expression* **thar of** 2.15, *and* **causit of new** 5.25)
off 166.01 prep. of
offence 9.13 n. offense
offend 7.34 v.; **offendis** 53.34 pres.; **offendit** 45.28 p. p.; **offendand** 72.08 pr. p. to offend, do wrong
offerit 8.07, **offert** 111.09 p. t., **offerit** 120.22, **offert** 41.11 p. p.; **offerand** 68.23 pr. p. to offer, present
office 79.16 n.; **officis** 87.25 pl. office, function
officiaris 84.26 pl. officer, functionary
oft 29.22 adv. often
oftymes 6.36, **oftymis** 84.11 adv. frequently, repeatedly
oile 4.21, **ole** 12.02 n. oil
oliue 77.12, **olive** 16.07 n. the olive
omnipotent 72.34 adj. infinite in power
on 17.33, **one** 7.24 prep. on, upon
ony 3.34 adj. any
ony 7.33 pron. any
oost 140.19, ost 140.17, oste 140.32 n. host (of people)
operacioun 4.01, **operacioune** 64.09 n.; **operaciounis** 91.16 pl. action
operatiue 23.05 adj. operative, active
opin 84.05 v.; **opynnis** 10.06 pres.; **opynnit** 11.29 p. p. to open
opinion 12.30, **opinioun** 130.05, **opinȝeone** 66.15, **opynioun** 130.05, **opynnioun** 144.25 n.; **opiniounis** 147.11 pl. opinion
opinly 163.05 adv. openly, plainly
oppres 129.11 v.; **oppressit** 134.21

p. p.; **oppressand** 129.09 pr. p. to oppress
oppressioun 121.10 n. oppression
opynnyng 8.11 vbl. n. opening
or 3.34 conj. or
or 9.08 conj. before
oratour 134.13, **orator** 123.38, **oratur** 70.01 n.; **oratouris** 69.34 pl. orator, spokesman
ordand 3.05 v.; **ordanis** 22.35 pres.; **ordanit** 2.33 p. t.; **ordand** 2.10, **ordanit** 1.23 p. p. to ordain, order
ordinacioun, n.: 88.35 ecclesiastical ordination; 115.13 the putting of laws into effect [this sense not in *DOST*; but cf. 'ordain', v. 12]
ordinance 3.16, ordinaunce 3.22 n.; ordinanis 111.34 pl. ordinance; divinely instituted religious observance
ordinat 52.08, **ordinate** 97.05 p. p. to appoint, decree
ordinatlie 101.34 in a ordered manner
ordour 15.20 n.; **ordouris** 6.20 pl. order; holy orders
orient 116.10 n. the East
original 8.35, **originale** 6.13 adj. original
orisone 42.21, **orisoune** 42.18 n. prayer
ornat 10.33 p. p. adorned, ornamented
oucht 153.03 pron. anything
our 1.05 poss. pron. our
our 10.14 prep. over
our 86.02 adv. over (*see* **ourcome**)
ourcome 17.36 **our cum** 55.01 v.; **ourcummys** 25.33 pres. to overcome
ourman 56.36 n. the head of an institution
out 48.18 adv. out
out prep. out (*in phrases* **out of** 41.20, **wt out** 130.25)
outane 159.03 prep. except
outhir 15.27, **owthir** 38.26 conj. either
ox 134.19 n. ox
oþir 33.01 adj. other

paccioun 3.33 n. agreement, the act or fact of making a compact
pacientlie 74.22, **paciently** 76.06 adv. patiently
pagane 85.30 n.; **paganis** 37.26 pl. pagan
paip 56.36, **pap** 128.11, **pape** 70.13 n.; **papis** 112.07 pl. the pope
palȝounis 141.31 pl. pavilion, a tented camp
pane 10.06 n.; **panys** 109.38, **panis** 70.05 pl. penalty, pain, suffering
pantit 156.27, **payntit** 156.25 p. t. to depict, to feign
paradice 2.37 n. paradise
paralus 84.33 adj. perilous
paramour 142.07 n. beloved, mistress
parentis 110.28 pl. parent
parliament 137.15 n. parliament, the parliament of Scotland
part 2.14 n.; **partis** 8.12 pl. part
part 72.27 v.; **partis** 61.03 pres.; **partit** 8.12 p. t. to part
partes 112.29 pl. party (in legal action)
partible 96.26 adj. capable of being sundered or broken [this is the only example in *DOST*]
particular 51.37 adj. particular
particulary 125.06 adv. particularly
partin 61.26 vbl. n. dividing, separation
pas 17.18 v.; **pasis** 53.18, **passis** 49.02 pres.; **passit** 8.01 p. t.; **passand** 74.09 pr. p. to pass
passage 89.21 n.; **passagis** 121.23 pl. passage
passin 61.34, **passing** 64.23, **passyn** 58.08 vbl. n. the act or fact of passing

passion 7.30, **passioun** 1.07 n.; **passiounis** 121.19 pl. passion; pain; strong feeling
past 61.17 p. p. past; at an end
pastor 120.28 n. herdsman, shepherd (used figuratively as leader)
patriarkis 92.20 pl. patriarch
payn 41.08, payne 27.17 n. penalty; pain; suffering
payntit (*see* **pantit**)
pecable 105.06 adj. peaceful, peace loving
pece 90.12 n. peace
peceable 124.28 adj. peaceable
penalite 6.17; **penaliteis** 6.13 pl. troubled state of mind arising from consciousness of the weakness of the huamn nature and of its disposition to sin [Ireland is the only authority cited in *DOST*]
penance 56.16, **penaunce** 43.09, **pennaunce** 6.17, pennauns 57.16 n. the sacrament of penance
penitencial 59.05 adj. of penitence or penance [Ireland's usage antedates the references in *DOST* and *OED*]
penitent 56.16 n. penitent
penitent 66.23 adj. repentant, contrite
pensif 156.27adj. pensive, meditative
pensy 156.22 n. deep or anxious thought, meditation
pepil 6.21, **peple** 7.18, **pepile** 141.12, **pepill** 12.11 n. people
peral 12.09, **perale** 12.12, **perell** 12.10 n.; **peralis** 122.17 pl. peril, danger
peralus 57.18 adj. perilous, dangerous
perceptible 64.19 adj. capable of being perceived
perchance 135.07 adv. by chance, haply
perdicioun 1.25 n. perdition, eternal death
perdurable 105.25 adj. permanent
perfeccion 58.20, **perfeccioun** 1.14 n.; **perfecciounis** 28.04 pl. perfection
perfit 1.26 adj. perfect
perfitlie 19.26 adv. perfectly
peris 128.32 v.; **perist** 139.09 p. t., 119.09 p. p. to perish
permanent 81.06 adj. permanent
perpetual 71.20, **perpetuall** 73.05 adj. perpetual
perpetualy 63.33 adv. perpetually
perplexite 106.16 n. perplexity, difficulty
persaue 33.06 v.; persauit 17.03 p. p. to perceive
persecucioun 46.01 n. prosecution
perseueir 56.07 v.; **perseueris** 45.02 pres.; **perseuerand** 72.07 pr. p. to persevere, to remain
persit 27.19 p. p. to pierce
person 45.07, **persone** 4.03, **persoune** 4.05 n.; **personis** 107.22, **persounis** 8.29 pl. person
personal 82.33, **personale** 82.13 adj. personal
persoune 56.35 n.; **persounis** 108.31 pl. parson
persuadis 45.35 pres.; **persuadit** 74.10 p. p. to persuade
persuasioun 68.35 n.; **persuasionis** 66.03 pl. persuasion
pertenand 9.03 ppl. adj. belonging or pertaining to
pertene 110.30 n.; **pertenis** 105.22 pres. to pertain
perwerst 151.07 adj. perverse
perygall 130.17 n. one's peer; one who is equal to another
pes 29.30, pese 111.28 n. peace
pesis 140.14 pl. wine-cup
pete 127.32, pite 3.27 n. pity
peteus 137.17 adj. piteous
peticioun 3.34 n. petition
philosophi 103.34, **philosophy** 14.10 n. philosophy

philosophour 14.09 n.; **philosophouris** 2.01 pl. philosopher
piete 120.29 n. pity, clemency
pilgrimage 60.08 n. pilgrimage
pilgrymis 107.20 pl. pilgrim
pissand 23.13 adj. powerful, strong, influential
pissaunce 159.23 n. power; ability
pistolis 90.05 pl. epistles
pite (*see* **pete**)
place 18.28 n.; **placis** 29.04 pl. place
plane 96.19 adv. plain, plainly, clearly
planlie 11.05 adv. plainly
plantit 136.02 p. p. to plant
play 139.27 n.; **playis** 139.29 pl. play, game; skill
playar 156.24 n. actor, player, performer
playn 64.29 adj. plain, manifest
pleis 103.06, **ples** 47.23 v.; **plesis** 7.35 pres.; **plesit** 67.11 p. p. to please
plesance 139.27, **plesans** 162.02, **plesaunce** 19.20, **plesauns** 26.22 n. pleasure, delight
plesand 140.18, plesaund 73.07 ppl. adj. pleasing, that gives pleasure to
plesandlie 158.09 adv. pleasantly
poesye 117.25 n. poetry
poet 70.17 n.; **poetis** 38.08 pl. poet
polecy 72.03, **police** 20.01, **policy** 19.25, **polecye** 104.12 n. policy
poletik 111.19, **polethic** 115.24, **polethik** 115.11, **polithik** 109.15, **politik** 110.18 adj. political
porciounis 29.07 pl. part
pork 141.30 n. pork
port 10.07 n.; **portis** 121.23 pl. gate or gateway
positiue 108.06 adj. formally laid down (a legal term)
possessioun 71.29 n.; possessiounis 71.14 pl. that which is held as property; in plural: belongings; wealth; property
possible 123.33 adj. possible
potingar 82.34 n. apothecary, pharmacist
pouerte 133.08 n. the condition of being poor
powder 37.30 n. powder
power 1.17 n.; poweris 87.20 pl. power
practit 152.16 p. p. to put into operation
praer 56.27 n.; prayer 42.18 prayer
pray 42.23 v.; **prayis** 161.26 pres.; **prayit** 128.13 p. t.; **prait** 42.20, **prayit** 133.14 p. p.; **prayand** 8.05 pr. p. to pray, beseech
prayer (*see* **praer**)
praying 46.37 vbl. n. praying, prayer
preced 87.15 v. to precede; to go before (in various senses)
precedent 14.03 n. something that has gone before
prech 125.09 v.; **preichis** 83.05 pres.; **preichit** 18.01 p. t. to preach
precius 17.02 adj. precious; costly; held in high esteem
predecessouris 118.30 pl. one who has preceded
preferrit 162.19 p. t., 135.24 p. p. to hold in great esteem; to prefer
preichin 164.14 vbl. n. preaching
preichis, preichit (*see* **prech**)
preist 8.06, **prest** 8.32 n.; **preistis** 90.03, **prestis** 6.02 pl. priest
preistheid 87.02, **presthed** 83.20, **prestheid** 82.22 n. priesthood; the office or function of a priest; the body of priests
preiudicial 145.20 adj. prejudicial, detrimental
prelat 16.09 n.; **prelatis** 89.33 pl. ecclesiastical figure of exalted rank and authority
premiacioun 54.03 n. reward [not in *DOST*; first reference for verb form in *OED*, 1537; and for 'premiable', adj., 1450]

prent 11.20 n. image or character stamped upon the mind or soul of
preponand 54.06 ppl. adj. setting over, appointing as superior
prepone 63.10 v.; **preponit** 62.38 p. t. to set over, to appoint as superior
presens 21.09 n. presence (used in this case to speak of Christ's Real Presence)
present 7.31 adj. present
presentacioun 2.15 n. presentation; symbolic representation
presolucioun 61.25 n. previous payment or discharge [first reference in *OED*, 1683]
prest, prestis (*see* **preist**)
presthed, prestheid (*see* **preistheid**)
presumpcioun 35.17 n. arrogance, pride
presume 55.23 v. to presume, to be presumptuous
pretendis 161.16 pres.; pretendit 163.31 p. t. to pretend
preuale 84.02 v. to be superior; to succeed
prevenis 125.27 pres. to come before; to forestall
price 72.02 v. to value highly, to prize
prid 119.03, **pryd** 35.17 n. pride
pridfull 147.22 adj. proud, arrogant
primates 92.20 pl. archbishop
primatiue 152.25 n. primitive or earliest stage [first reference in *OED*, 1600]
prince 10.25 n.; **princis** 93.35 pl. sovereign ruler
principal 113.32, **principale** 13.02 adj. principal, chief
principalie 163.23, **principaly** 4.22 adv. in the chief place
prisit 141.21 p. p. to value, esteem
pro 144.02 adj. for (*in phrase* **pro and contra**)
probaciounis 37.05 pl. proof, evidence
proced 14.07, **procede** 1.09, **proceid** 14.22 v.; **procedis** 91.13 pres.; **procedit** 7.25 p. t., 148.33 p. p.; **procedand** 14.20 pr. p. to proceed
proces 148.12 n. process, course (of time)
proclamacioun 140.26 n. proclamation, announcement
procreacioun 100.14 n. the action of begetting
procuratouris 133.03 pl. agent in a court of law, attorney
procuris 125.20 pres.; **procurit** 81.06 p. p. to get, procure
prodigalite 134.27 n. reckless extravagance
produccioun 36.06 n. production
produce 4.08 v.; **producis** 3.35 pres.; **producit** 35.37 p. t., 6.33 p. p.; **produsand** 9.20 pr. p. to bring into existence
productiue 79.21 adj. creative; generative; causative
proferrit 22.12 p. p. to utter, pronounce; to offer (in the sense of proffer)
professioun 71.03 n. solemn declaration, vow
professit 150.27 p. p. to declare openly, profess
proffit 7.14 n.; **proffitis** 40.26 pl. benefit; use; gain; advantage
proffitable 1.04 adj. yielding profit or advantage
profound 156.37, **profounde** 34.29 adj. deep
profoundlie 53.27, profoundly 34.29 adv. with depth
progenitour 29.05 n.; **progenitouris** 93.36 pl. ancestor, forefather
proheme 14.13 n. preface, preamble
prolacioun 12.21 n. utterance
prolong 70.14 v. to extend in duration
promissioun 4.04 n. promise
promittis 135.17 pres.; **promittit**

83.18 p. t., 142.19 p. p.; **promittand** 72.29 pr. p. to promise
promocioun 138.24 n. preferment
promotoris 133.03 pl. one who promotes or advances
promouit 150.28 p. p. to promote
promulgit 110.08 p. p. to publish or proclaim formally
promys 4.07 n. promise
propagacioun 96.06 n. procreation, generation
proper 1.27, **propir** 51.10, **propyr** 141.08 adj. suitable; right; intrinsic, belonging to oneself
properlie 106.24, **properly** 6.15 adv. rightly, properly; particularly
properte 128.26 n. property
prophet 32.26 n.; prophetis 37.29 pl. prophet (from the Old Testament)
propone 105.13 v.; **proponis** 161.21 pres. to put forth
proporcionat 17.07 adj. proportioned
proporcioun 118.01 n. proportion
proposicioun 110.23 n.; **proposiciounis** 110.26 pl. proposition
prose 109.33 n. prose, as distinguished from poetry
prosperite 120.10 n. prosperity, well-being
proteccioun 117.23 n. protection
proue 122.35, **prowe** 144.31 v.; **provis** 32.03 pres.; **provit** 113.07 p. t.; **prowit** 149.18 p. p. to prove
prouidence 36.27, **prouidens** 157.15 n. provision; guidance; care
provest 133.09 n.; **provestis** 92.21 pl. provost (in both secular and ecclesiastical senses)
provide 153.08 v. to provide
province 125.24 n. province
prowe, prowit (*see* **proue**)
prudence 11.15, **prudens** 112.32 n. prudence
prudencial 119.10 adj. characterized by forethought and deliberation [first reference in *OED*, 1641]
prudent 104.09 adj. wise, discerning
pryd (*see* **prid**)
pryuate 149.16 adj. private, restricted
psalme 62.08 n. psalm (from Scripture)
public 149.10, **publict** 51.24 adj. public
punct 158.28 n., **punctis** 158.27 pl. point
pund 133.07 n. distraint or article poinded
punicioun 51.29 n. punishment
punitiue 63.20, **punytiue** 109.20 adj. retributive [first reference in *OED*, 1624]
punys 72.22 **punysis** 62.04 pres.; **punyst** 134.35 p. t.; **punist** 69.12, **punyst** 25.14 p. p.; **punysand** 146.27, **punyssand** 61.07 pr. p. to **punish**
punytivis 109.38 not in *OED*, but apparently used as a noun, although possibly an inflected adj. to modify 'lawis', with the sense of 'retribution'
pur 12.13 adj. poor
pur 149.07 adj. pure
purefie 16.16, **purifye** 59.22 v.; **purifiet** 62.24, **purifiit** 62.18 p. p. to make pure
purgacioun 49.01 n. the action of purging
purgator 58.08, **purgatori** 62.02, **purgatory** 74.22 n. purgatory
purge 59.22 v.; **purgis** 10.04 pres.; **purgit** 61.01 p. p. to cleanse
purificacioun 25.07 n. cleansing
purpos 14.27, **purpose** 163.33 n. purpose
purposis 56.19 pres. to intend
put 2.21, **putt** 58.17 v.; **puttis** 2.04 pres. to put

putrifaccioun 116.12 n. corruption

qualiteis 58.31 pl. quality, attribute
quantitatiue 34.03 adj. possessing quantity [first reference in *OED*, 1581]
quantite 6.34 n. quantity, size
quene 118.27, **queyn** 72.24, **queyne** 125.15 n. queen (also used in a title)
questioun 141.26 n. question, subject for discussion
quha 86.10 relat. pron. who
quhar 3.23 conj. where
quhar throu 100.16 adv. wherethrough, by means of which
quharfor 36.19 adv. wherefore, on account of which
quharin 152.26 adv. wherein, in which
quharon 17.36 adv. whereon, on which
quhat 33.09 adj. what
quhat 76.15 relat. pron. what
quhat 107.24 pron. what
quhat euir 38.25 pron. whatever
quheit 38.09, **quhet** 42.24, **quhete** 24.04 n. wheat
quhen 2.19 conj. when
quhen euir 4.05 conj. whenever
quhet cornys 24.07 pl. wheat
quhethir 81.35, **quhe**þir 32.31 conj. whether
quhil 12.04, **quhill** 133.05 conj. until
quhilis 23.01 adv. sometimes
quhilk 19.09 pron. which
quhitnes 22.20 n. white color or appearance
quhom 151.29 pron. whom
quhou 29.04, **quhow** 31.30 adv. how
quhy 32.38 adv. why
quiete 113.31 n. peaceful condition
quikit 79.02 p. p. to give or restore life to
quyc 134.29 adj. quick, living
quyt 128.05 v. to leave; to quit

rahersis 38.02, **rehersis** 132.13 pres. to rehearse, recite, recount
rais 50.24 v., 109.37 p. t.; **risand** 161.05 pr. p. to rise
rancor 67.37 n. animosity, bitter ill-feeling
rane watter 11.37 n. rain water
rang 151.03 p. t. to reign
ransonit 39.01 p. p. to ransom
rapin 134.28, **rapyn** 134.34 n. plunder, robbery
rasingis 24.08 pl. grape or raisin
rasis 77.06 pres.; **raysit** 37.33 p. p. to raise, lift up
real 21.09, **reale** 22.19, **reall** 42.30 adj. having an objective, actual existence (*as in phrase* **real presence**) [first reference in *OED*, 1559]
realite 39.03 n. having an actual existence
realm 116.11, **realme** 3.21 n.; **realmes** 17.17, **realmez** 148.15 pl. kingdom
realy 24.15 adv. in a real manner, actually
rebellioun 109.23 n. insurrection, revolt
rebellouris 72.23 pl. rebel
recepcioun 87.19 n. the action of receiving
recordacioun 133.12 n. remembrance
recouer 2.34 v. to recover
recounsalit 162.34 p. p. reconciled, restored to favor
rectour 79.17 n. ruler, governor
red 14.23 p. p. to read
redar 73.32 n. reader
reddy 61.22, redy 7.32 adj. ready
redempcioun 3.27 n. deliverance from sin
redemptor 19.29, redemptour 20.11 n. redeemer
redemyt 4.15 p. t. to redeem, free
reding 139.12 vbl. n. reading
redis 37.27 pres. to read

reducis 79.09 pres. to bring or lead back
refeccioun 24.01 n. food or refreshment; partaking of food
reformacioun 158.25 n. restoration, improvement
refrene 110.12 v. to refrain, forbear
refus 73.04 v.; **refusis** 60.21 pres.; **refusit** 164.28 p. p. to refuse
regard 148.14 n. regard
regeneracioun 50.11 n. the process or state of being born again
regimen 105.15, regiment 120.23 n. government, rule
regne 54.38 n. influence, sway
regnis 116.09 pl. reign
regnis 149.23 pres.; **regnit** 128.16 p. p. to reign, hold authority
rehersis (*see* **rahersis**)
reid 73.29 v. to read
reif 126.01, **reiff** 109.26 n. spoliation, robbery
reif 134.26 v.; **refis** 132.17 pres.; **reft** 132.15 p. t. to spoil or rob
releischit 11.23 p. p. to release
relevacioun 41.17 n. the action of raising, relieving, supporting
religioun 46.05 n. religion
remane 60.20 v.; **remanis** 21.34 pres.; **remanit** 52.12 p. t. to remain
remeid 9.10 n. remedy, redress
remissioun 1.15 n. forgiveness, pardon
remuneracioun 69.08 n. reward, recompense, payment
remyt 47.03, **remytt** 52.05 v.; **remittis** 41.08 pres.; **remittit** 3.20, **remyttit** 69.20 p. p. to forgive; to mitigate [the first reference for second definition in *OED*, 1615]
rengis 117.19 pres. to ring
rentis 158.38 pl. revenue, income from lands or other properties
repair 137.30 v.; **reparis** 79.09 pres.; **reparit** 24.36 p. t. to restore; to return
reparacioun 4.06 n. restoration
repent 45.04 v. to repent
repleit 71.21 adj. replete, filled with
reprehendis 103.35 pres.; **reprehendit** 85.35 p. t. to reprove
repremys 101.16 pres. to repress [first reference in *CSD*, 16th c.; in *OED*, 1549]
represent 2.26 v.; **representis** 3.30 pres.; **representit** 156.25 p. t.; **representand** 96.16 pr. p. to represent; to symbolize; to bring into presence
reprobacioun 86.19 n. reproof, shame
reprovis 103.35 pres.; **reprovit** 103.31 p. p. to reject, to censure
repruf 163.30 n. reproof
repugnand 73.03, **repungnand** 53.36 adj. repugnant
repugnant 56.01, **repungnaunt** 24.38 adj. repugnant
repungnis 29.23 pres. to be contrary or opposed to something
reput 37.27 v.; **reput** 29.15 p. p. to repute, reckon
requeir 72.34, **requer** 73.37 v.; **requiris** 29.08 pres.; **requirit** 8.25 p. p. to ask, request
resaue 2.12 v.; **resauis** 2.20, **resavis** 41.13, **resawis** 159.23 pres.; **resauit** 3.28 p. t., 8.14 p. p.; **resauand** 2.10 pr. p. to receive
resaving 40.03 vbl. n. the action of receiving
reseruit 79.22 p. t. to reserve; to keep as one's own
resist 22.34 v.; **resistit** 3.17 p. p. to resist, withstand
resistant 156.04 adj. resisting; that makes resistance or opposition [first reference *OED*, 1610]

resistaunce 8.19, **resistens** 130.01 n. resistance
resonably 102.17 adv. reasonably
resson 114.08, **ressoun** 37.13, **ressoune** 20.30 n.; **ressounis** 124.32 pl. reason
ressonable 2.22 adj. reasonable, rational
rest 67.08 v.; **restit** 37.33 p. t. to rest
restauracioun 3.36 n. reinstatement of man into divine favor
restoris 55.03 pres.; **restorit** 67.16 p. p. to restore
restriccioun 91.13 n. restriction, limitation
retrahis 58.28 pres. to draw back, to retract [first reference in *OED*, 1497]
returne 106.16 v.; **returnand** 127.32 pr. p. to return
reuel 157.11, **rewel** 69.19 v.; **reuelis** 157.21 pres.; **reuelit** 111.07 p. t., 51.31 p. p. to disclose, reveal
reuelacioun 51.28 n. revelation
reueling 161.25 vbl. n. revelation; the action of disclosing or making clear
reuerence 94.07, reuerens 36.01 n. reverence, respect
reul 26.15, **reule** 64.11 n.; **reulis** 106.04 pl. rule, principle
reule 118.33 v.; **reulis** 107.05 pres.; **reulit** 107.03 p. p. to rule
reulit 115.16 ppl. adj. ruled, governed
reulyn 116.02 vbl. n. ruling
reuok 138.12 v.; **reuokit** 42.32 p. t. to revoke, to recall
revis 133.05 pres. to despoil or rob
rewar 132.13 n. robber or plunderer
reward 37.12 n. reward, recompense
reward 136.05 v.; **rewardis** 64.22 pres.; **rewardit** 133.25 p. p.; **rewardand** 61.07 pr. p. to reward, requite
rewel (*see* **reuel**)
reweng 146.30 v. to revenge
rewenuois 158.38 pl. income or profit of lands or other properties [spelling not in *OED*]
rial 67.36, **riall** 104.12, **riale** 150.19, **ryall** 160.20 adj. royal
riche 113.37 adj. powerful; wealthy
riches 59.12 pl. wealth
richt 1.22, **rycht** 18.19 adv. right, just; (*as in* **richt as** 21.21)
richt 35.30 n. right
richt 106.19, **rycht** 14.26 adj. right (in various senses)
richtsua 2.29, **rychtsua** 9.32 adv. likewise
ridand 140.12 pr. p. to ride
rigorus 63.21 adj. harsh, stern, strict
rigour 61.18 n. strictness, harshness
risand (*see* **rais**)
rose watter 12.03 n. water distilled from roses or impregate with the essence of roses
rotundite 22.20 n. roundness, sphericity [first reference in *OED*, 1597]
rounde 42.11 adj. round
rut 91.28, **rute** 25.04 n.; **rutis** 106.14 pl. the root, basis
ruyne 117.01 n. the downfall or decay of a society, destruction
ryall (*see* **rial**)
rycht (*see* **richt** adv., adj.)
rychtsua (*see* **richtsua**)
ryn 70.08 v. to run
rys 41.18 v.; **rysyn** 94.04 p. p. to rise
ryver 11.37, **rywer** 151.17 n. river

sa 7.26 adv. so
sa 3.31 conj. so
sacerdotal 91.27, **sacerdotale** 88.03, **sacerdotall** 88.01 adj. of or belonging to a priest or the preisthood, priestly
sacrament 5.06 n.; **sacramentis** 1.03 pl. sacrament of the Church
sacramentale 9.18 adj. pertaining to the sacraments of the Church

sacret 5.06, **secret** 45.33, **secreit** 130.38 adj. secret
sacretlie 3.34, **secretlie** 38.34 adv. in a secret manner
sacrific 111.10, **sacrifice** 8.07 n. sacrifice; Christ's offering of himself to the Father
sad 156.27 adj. sober, grave
safer 36.08 (*in prep. phrase* **in safer**) in such measure or degree
saif 11.19 adj. safe, saved
saif 12.17 v. to rescue, deliver
saik 73.33 n. sake
sal 2.21, sall 1.22 v. shall
salbe 9.06 v. shall be
salt 37.31 n. salt
saluacioun 1.06 n. salvation
saluator 2411, **saluatour** 31.14 n. one who saves or delivers
saluiour 1.24 n. savior
same 62.08 adj. same
samekle 23.30 adv. so much; denoting relative extent, degree
sammyn 21.30, **samyn** 133.15 adj. same
sanct 5.04 adj. saint
sanctificacion 3.15, **sanctificacioun** 3.11 n. sanctification
sanctifiet 3.10 p. p. to consecrate, hallow
sang 125.11 p. t. to sing
sapour 22.28 n. taste or savour
sar 133.38 adv. sorely, severely, harshly, so as to cause suffering
sat 140.13 p. t. to sit
satisfaccioun 4.14 n. satisfaction, atonement
saul 25.14, **saule** 1.27 n.; **saulis** 24.29 pl. soul
sauld 85.19 p. t., 132.25 p. p. to sell
sauour 16.02 n. taste, smell
savit 128.14 p. t. to rescue, protect
saw 67.25 n. salve
sawis 82.31 pres. to sow, scatter seeds
say 54.26 v.; **sais** 1.18, **sayis** 132.09 pres.; **said** 6.29 p. t., 4.22 p. p.; **sayand** 48.33 pr. p. to say
scarlet 87.18 n. scarlet
scham 131.05, **schame** 15.27 n. shame
schamfull 17.25 adj. shameful
scharp 140.34, **scharpe** 139.36 adj. acute; eager, vigilant
scharplie 148.12 adv. acutely; closely
schaw 11.32 v.; **schawis** 14.12 pres.; **schawin** 4.19 p. p.; **schawand** 56.24 pr. p. to show
sche 97.11 pron. she
scheip 141.13 n. sheep
schew 37.01 v. to show (a non-northern form)
schinis 132.10 pres. to shine
schir 133.18 n. sir
scho 71.28 n. shoe
schort 136.18 adj. short
schulderis 112.25 pl. shoulder
schynyng 160.02 vbl. n. shining, gleaming
science 52.04, **sciens** 3.01 n. knowledge
scisme 84.30 n. schism
scisteris 105.11 pl. sister
scriptur 70.15 n. the Bible
scule 32.11 n. school
se 12.13, **see** 127.06 v.; **seis** 3.23 pres.; **saw** 37.10 p. t.; **seyn** 43.04 p. p.; **seand** 14.33 pr. p. to see
se 37.32, **sey** 11.37, **seye** 132.13 n. sea
secret, secreit (*see* **sacret**)
secretlie (*see* **sacretlie**)
secund 6.14 num. adj. second; also in the absolute sense 12.29
securite 79.26 n. security
sedicioun 148.06 n. sedition, rebellion
sege 140.24 v.; **segit** 140.23 p. p. to besiege
seid 38.09 n. seed
seik 6.01 adj. sick
seiknes 76.25, **seknes** 5.29 n. sickness
seil 138.29, **seill** 81.09 n. seal

seit 120.14 n. seat
sek 12.30 adj. such (used in absolute sense)
seknes (*see* **seiknes**)
sekyr 2.21 adj. free from danger, secure
sel 132.28 v. to sell
seldin 153.04 adv. seldom
self 4.11 pron. self (*see also* **him self**)
sempil 12.19, **sempill** 89.31, **semple** 42.03 adj. simple, of low rank
sen 48.08, **sene** 2.03 conj. since
send 60.10 n. the action of sending; dispensation
send 90.03 p. t.; **sendis** 73.09 pres. to send
sens 116.17 n. sense, meaning
sensacioun 63.37 n. sensation
sensatiue 36.14, **sensitiue** 87.23 adj. having the function of sensation or sensuous perception
sensible 2.01 adj. perceptible by the senses
sensualite 109.22 n. sensuality, the following of lower nature in preference to the higher
sensuall 121.37 adj. sensual
sentens 61.32 n. legal judgment or decision
sentens 114.10 n. sense, meaning
senȝery 113.29, **senȝory** 110.04 n. lordship, dominion, sovereignty
separacioun 29.13 n. separation
sepultur 11.25 n. burial
sequelis 60.15 pl. consequence [first reference in *OED*, 1477]
sermoundis 43.08 pl. sermon
serpent 37.29 n. serpent
seruand 4.17, **seruande** 26.18 n.; **seruandis** 6.02, **seruaundis** 67.25 pl. a servant
serue 15.23 v. to serve
seruice 59.13, **seruis** 87.22, **seruys** 67.15 n. service
seruit 37.11 p. t. to deserve
seruitute 150.29 n. servitude, slavery
set 141.28 p. p. to set
seuer 88.11, **sevir** 54.13 v.; **seueris** 25.29 pres.; **seuerit** 26.23 p. p. to sever, divide, disunite; to distinguish
seuerite 61.19 n. strictness, rigour [first reference in *OED*, 1530]
sevin 6.06 num. adj. seven
sex 164.14 num. adj. six
sext 35.01 num. adj. sixth
sey, seye (*see* **se** n.)
seyn (*see* **se** v.)
sic 3.05 adj. such
sicht 37.21 n. sight
siclik 53.21 adj. similar, such like
signe 11.17 n.; **signis** 4.19 pl. sign
significacioun 2.15 n.; **significaciounis** 157.30 pl. the property of being significant or expressive of something
signifie 23.09, **signify** 22.07, **signifye** 159.25 v.; **signifies** 15.36, **signifiis** 16.01, **signifis** 98.37, **signifyis** 5.24 pres.; **signifiet** 31.13, **signifiit** 117.11, **signifyit** 98.34 p. t.; **signifiet** 46.18, **signifiit** 76.07, **signifyit** 96.30 p. p. to signify
siluer 132.30, **silver** 63.02 n. silver
similitud 2.14, **similitude** 5.14 n. similitude; sign; likeness
sindry 103.22 adj. sundry; a number of; absolute form 92.18
singular 36.27 adj. singular; special
sinister 121.36 adj. corrupt, evil
sit 120.12, **syt** 133.11 v. to sit
skaith 27.17 n.; **skaithis** 148.10 pl. harm, damage
sklander 51.27 n. discredit, disgrace
skourgit 27.19 p. p. to scouge, whip
skyn 133.10 n. skin
sla 55.17 v.; **slais** 121.25 pres.; **slew** 122.24 p. t.; **slane** 127.31 p. p. to strike, kill

slauchtir 122.08 n. slaughter, massacre
sleip 34.13 n. sleep
sleip 139.38 v. to sleep
smal 152.20, **small** 120.14 adj. small
smelling 16.02 vbl. n. odor, scent
snale 140.33 n. snail
snaw 12.01 n. snow
soberis 137.32 pres. to pacify; to render or become grave
sobyr 138.10 adj. sober
sobyrnes 137.10 n. sobriety
societe 26.29 n.; **societeis** 26.26 pl. companionship; the condition of living in association [first references in *OED*, 1531, 1553]
sodin 140.18 adj. prepared on the spur of the moment
soft 141.36 adv. softly
sollucioun 143.05 n. solution, action of solving
sonar 75.16 compar. adv. soon
sone 4.12 n.; **sonnis** 8.09 pl. son
sone 27.32 adv. soon
sone 37.33 n. the sun
sonest 17.22 superlat. adv. soon
sorow 124.38 n. distress, affliction, sorrow
souerane 36.01, **souueran** 50.29, **souuerane** 15.23 adj. sovereign
souueranite 108.16 n. sovereignty
soule 73.12 adj. sole, exclusive
sound 158.09 v.; **soundis** 117.18 pres. to sound
sounder 157.29 (*in adv. phrase* **to sounder**) into separate pieces [more usual form, **in sunder**]
sovme 142.21 n. sum, quantity
space 138.09 n. extent
special 132.02 n. (*in phrase* **in special**) in detail, in particular
special 152.09, **speciall** 54.18, **speciell** 57.19 adj. special
speciali 71.18, **specialie** 147.08, **specialy** 20.01 adv. specially
speich 108.04 n. speech
speik 10.35, **spek** 70.04 v.; **spekis** 11.20 pres.; **spokin** 33.18 p. p.; **spekand** 105.23 pr. p. to speak
speir 31.30 v.; **speris** 107.36 pres.; **sperit** 132.15 p. t., 141.16 p. p. to ask
speking 121.08 vbl. n. speking
spend 129.23 v.; **spendis** 134.25 pres. to spend
sper 27.19 n. spear
sperris 72.30 pl. thorns or prickles [first reference in *OED*, William Dunbar, 1503]
spiritis 140.05 pl. spirit
spiritual 1.04, **spirituall** 1.10, **spirituale** 1.26 adj. spiritual
spiritualite 108.14 n. the quality or condition of being spiritual
spiritualy 7.06 adv. in a spiritual manner
spittin 12.03 vbl. n. spittle
spoliacioun 125.31 n. depredation; robbery
sponge 134.08 n. sponge
spous 1.25 n. wife
spousage 11.05 n. wedlock
spousit 10.26 p. p. to unite in marriage
spreit 97.13 n. spirit
spring 124.12 v.; **springis** 106.15 pres. to spring up to issue forth suddenly (*see* **wp spring**)
spulȝeis 132.17 pres.; **spulȝeit** 132.15 p. t., 125.38 p. p. to despoil or plunder
spulȝeour 132.20 n. spoiler [spelling not in *OED*]
spurris 17.16 pl. spur
stabill 105.25, **stable** 105.21 adj. stable, firm
stag 92.36, **stage** 47.27 n.; **stagis** 89.22 pl. stage, station
stan 157.27, **stane** 37.31 n.; **stanis** 159.34 pl. stone

stanchis 101.24 pres. to satisfy the appetite of
stand 70.30 v.; **standis** 6.08 pres.; **stud** 117.33 p. t. to stand
stanys (*see* **hailstanis**)
stark 16.31 adj. strong, unyielding
starkar 41.19 compar. adj. stronger
starkest 86.13 superl. adj. strongest
starkis 122.25 pres. to strengthen, make stout or stronger
starklie 31.23 adv. strongly, boldly
starknes 74.18 n. strength [definition not in *OED*, though implied by context and adjectival form]
stat 50.02, **state** 1.26 n.; **statis** 104.14 pl. state or condition; mode of existence
steir 108.35 n. action of directing or governing; government
stek 84.05 v. to shut, fasten
stellit 12.03 ppl. adj. distilled
step 30.33 n. step, a stage
sterne 132.10 n.; **sternis** 36.06 pl. star; **day sterne**—the sun
stil 127.31 adv. still
stomok 20.18 n. the stomach
story 159.02 n.; **storeis** 120.24, **storiis** 117.21, **storyis** 133.08 pl. narrative; story; historical work
stouth 109.26 n. theft
strang 126.27 adj. strong
strangear 144.23, **strangearis** 123.28 n. stranger
stratlie 100.03 adv. straitly; strictly; rigorously
strenth 3.13 n. strength
strenth 16.17 v.; **strenthis** 15.15 to strengthen, to make strong
strif 53.05 v. to strive, contend, fight
strik 68.34 v.; strak 157.28 p. t. to strike
stud (*see* **stand**)
studiis 103.06 pres.; **studyit** 133.32 p. t.; **studiit** 165.01 p. p. to study; to endeavor
study 124.08 n. study; mental labor
sua 10.11 conj. so
subdittis 127.11 pl. subject
subget 145.24, **subgett** 153.13 n.; **subgettis** 150.13 pl. subject; one who is under the dominion of a monarch
subieccioun 45.11 n. subjection, subordination
subiek 55.18 v.; **subiekkit** 26.16 p. p. to subjugate
submyt 36.35, **submytt** 142.30 v.; **submittis** 114.06 pres.; **submyttit** 94.10 p. p.; **submittand** 114.01 pr. p. to submit, yield
subordinat 87.21 adj. subordinate; of inferior rank or importance
subside 127.12 n. help, aid, assistance
substaunce 21.37 n. substance; essential nature; that in which accidents or attributes inhere
subtilie 53.27 adv. subtly; with acuteness
subtilite 130.22 n. subtlety; excessive nicety in argument
succed 23.26, **succeid** 147.14 v.; **succedis** 18.27 pres.; **succedit** 120.19 p. t.; **succedand** 144.04 pr. p. to succeed, come next
succession 147.13, **successioun** 144.09 n. succession, the coming of one person (specifically, a king) after another
successour 128.03 n. one who follows or succeeds another
suddand 125.27 adj. sudden
suddanly 68.30 adv. without warning or preparation
sueit 16.02 adj. sweet; pleasing
sueitnes 17.05, **suetnes** 16.21 n. pleasantness; sweetness
suer 139.38 adj. indolent, slothful
suerd 159.32 n. sword
suetlie 66.15 adv. sweetly; pleasurably

suettin 12.03 vbl. n. sweat
suffer 48.09 v.; **sufferit** 25.21 p. t., 59.26 p. p. to undergo, endure
suffice 32.15, **suffis** 109.16 v.; **sufficis** 111.33, **suffisis** 153.15 pres.; **sufficit** 6.35 p. t. to be enough, sufficient
sufficience 108.13, **sufficens** 110.06, **sufficiens** 116.17 n. satisfaction of one's needs
sufficient 3.14 adj. satisfactory, adequate
sufficientlie 61.13 adv. adequately, satisfactorily
suffis, suffisis (*see* **suffice**)
suld 19.27, sulde 162.05 p. t. shall (should)
sum 29.10 adj. some
superfluite 140.06 n. superabundance, excessive
superiorite 80.03 n. superior rank [first reference in *OED*, 1526]
supernal 89.14, **supernale** 83.31 adj. that is above or on high; pertaining to a higher world or existence
suple 2.32 n. supply; assistance, support; relief
suppleis 116.14 pres. to help; to compensate; to satisfy a lack
suppone 35.26 v. to suppose
suppos 157.30 v. to suppose; to think
sur 3.22 adj. sure
surte 163.21 n. safety, security
suspendit 81.18 p. p. to suspend; to deprive temporarily from office
sustentacioun 30.25 n. maintenance
susteyn 41.09, **susteyne** 17.32 v.; **sustenis** 24.04 pres.; **sustenit** 117.13 p. t., 62.15 p. p.; **sustenand** 62.24 pr. p. to sustain; to support; to withstand or endure
swa 148.16 adv. so
syd 98.05 n. side
syn 1.05, **syne** 41.16 n.; **synnis** 6.13, **synnys** 3.19 pl. sin
syn 6.34 adv. then, subsequently
syn 44.17 v.; **synnis** 12.14 pres.; **synnit** 57.01 p. t.; **synnyt** 3.03 p. p. to sin
syndry 43.03 adv. sundry; severally; individually
synnar 6.01 n.; **synnaris** 1.25 pl. one who sins
syt (*see* **sit**)

ta 33.03 adj. to (%one)
tabernakle 64.24 n. tabernacle (figuratively, the body)
tabill 56.31 n. table, list
tak 7.22 v.; **takis** 7.19 pres.; **tuk** 3.03 p. t.; **tane** 10.34 p. p.; **takand** 27.01 pr. p. to take
taking 63.07 vbl. n. taking (a non-northern form)
takin 8.29 n.; **takynnis** 4.19 pl. token
tary 70.08 v. to tarry, delay
tauld (*see* **tell**)
tech 100.19, **teich** 6.21 v.; **teichis** 1.28 pres.; **teichit** 161.13 p. t. to teach
tell 38.37 v.; **tellis** 38.05 pres.; **tauld** 113.20 p. t. to tell
tempe 113.10 v.; **tempand** 51.16 pr. p. to tempt
temporal 107.33, **temporale** 48.10, **temporall** 111.28 adj. temporal
temporalie 64.28 adv. temporally
temporalite 108.13 n. temporal power; the condition of being temporal
temporat 121.18 adj. temperate, moderate
temporaunce 11.15 n. temperance
temptacioun 41.13 n. temptation
tendir 10.35, **tendyr** 136.10 adj. tender
tendirlie 97.14, **tendirly** 72.05 adv. tenderly
tendirnes 97.32 n. tenderness
tent 130.36 n. attention, heed, care

teres 8.05 pl. tear
termez 107.24 pl. term, technical expression
termys 50.22 pres. to state, affirm
terrene 155.12 adj. worldly, secular, temporal
terrible 8.04 adj. terrible
terrour 125.18 n. terrour; the state of being terrified
text 129.14 n. text; particularly, the Scriptures
thai 160.03 adj. those
tham 22.04, **thame** 41.20 pron. them
thankfully 164.38 adv. thankfully
thar 4.01 poss. pron. their
thar 6.12 adv. there
tharfor 2.06 adv. therefore
tharof 10.02, **thar of** 2.15 adv. thereof, of that
that 1.14 conj. that
that 1.10 relat. pron. that
that 6.24 pron. that
that 7.27 adj. that
the 1.03 art. adj. the
the 72.16 pron. thee
thef 71.22 n.; **thevis** 117.06 pl. thief
theis 157.25 pl. thigh
theologi 24.33, **theologie** 34.30 n. theology
theologicale 11.14 adj. theological
theologis 106.12 pl. theologian
therefor 45.04 adv. therefore
thi 27.32 poss. pron. thy
thi (*see* **w'thi**)
thing 3.25 n.; **thing** 4.08, **thinge** 59.14, **thingis** 2.01 pl. thing
think 10.35 v.; **thinkis** 35.18 pres.; **thocht** 70.31 p. t. to think (*see also* **me think**)
thir 2.10, **thyr** 71.38 adj. these (absolute usage 6.29)
this 1.03 adj. this
this 4.18 pron. this
thocht 70.26 n. thought
thocht (*see* **think**)
thole 8.04 v.; **tholis** 62.11 pres.; **tholit** 10.30 p. t. to have to suffer; to bear; to allow
thou 34.15 pron. thou
thousand 29.07, **thowsand** 165.26 num. adj. thousand
thowsandis 141.25 pl. thousand
thre 6.13 num. adj. three
thretty 164.22 num. adj. thirty
thrid 6.15 num. adj. third
throu 3.26, **throw** 17.08 prep. through
thyr (*see* **thir**)
till 1.05 prep. to
tinsal 54.03, **tinsale** 12.16, **tynsale** 130.10 n. the losing of something; forfeiture
tirant (*see* **tyrant**)
title 86.05 n. title
to 1.12 prep. to
to giddir 3.13 adv. together
tobe 6.37 v. to be
tocum 1.22 v. to approach
tonsour 88.11 n. tonsure
torment 27.11 n.; **tormentis** 25.21 pl. torment
toung 164.23, **tounge** 165.09, **tovng** 38.37 n.; **toungis** 70.04 pl. tongue
tourment 62.32 n. torment; torture; agony
tourmentis 63.23 pres. to torment; to inflict torture upon
tovne 56.29 n. town
topir 24.36 pron. the other
tradicioun 94.11 n. tradition
traist 54.19 v. to trust
traist 3.23 n. trust
tranquilite 110.02 n. tranquility
transcendis 111.04 pres. to transcend; to pass beyond or over
transgressioun 109.17 n. transgression
translacioun 149.13 n. translation, transference
translatis 151.08 pres.; **translatit**

83.30, **translatt** 151.12 p. p. to translate; to transfer
transmut 38.20 v.; **transmutit** 23.11 p. p. to alter or change, to transform
transmutacioun 22.07 n. transformation, conversion
tratouris (*see* **traytour**)
trauale 136.12, **trawale** 141.38 n. travail
traytour 48.26, **traytowr** 45.17 n.; **tratouris** 113.18, **traytouris** 72.23 pl. traitor, betrayer
tre 3.01 n.; **treis** 72.30 pl. tree
treit 1.09 v.; **tretis** 9.01 pres.; **tretit** 56.27 p. p. to treat, deal with
tresour 78.23, **tressour** 25.26 n. wealth, treasure
trespas 44.31 n.; **trespasis** 1.15, **trespassis** 25.24 pl. transgression, trespass, offense
trespassis 47.22 pres. to trespass
trespassouris 132.23 pl. transgressor, lawbreaker; wrongdoer, sinner
tressoune 109.26 n. treason, betrayal
tretand 84.11 pr. p. to treat
treti 43.03 n. treatise
tretis, tretit (*see* **treit**)
treuth 101.09 n. truth
trew 23.01 adj. true
tribulacioun 58.02 n. condition of great affliction
tristes 46.34 pl. sadness, sorrow, affliction
triumphale 17.36 adj. victorious, triumphant
triumphe 117.34 n. victory, triumph
trone 7.31 n. throne
trouble 29.25 n.; **troublis** 152.21 pl. trouble, grief, distress, confusion
trow 31.23 v.; **trowis** 8.26 pres.; **trowit** 37.38 p. t., 37.07 p. p.; **trowand** 37.03 pr. p. to trust, to believe
trowable 144.20 adj. credible
truble 16.33 n. trouble, distress, confusion
trublis 6.12 pres. to trouble, disturb, harm
tuk (*see* tak)
turne 17.01 v.; **turnis** 20.22, **turnys** 20.20 pres.; **turnit** 37.32 p. t.; **turnit** 16.33, **turnyt** 12.04 p. p.; **turnand** 68.24 pr. p. to turn
turpitud 26.08, **turpitude** 26.07 n. baseness, wickedness
turs 140.07 v. to truss; pack up and carry away
twa 2.28 num. adj. two
twichand 11.22 prep. touching; that refers or relates to
twichis 10.16 pres.; **twichit** 158.37 p. p. to touch
twys 8.31 adv. twice
tym 17.25, **tyme** 32.29 n.; **tymes** 36.22 pl. time; (*in expression* **oft tymes** 29.22 **oftentimes**)
tymidite 17.23 n. timidity, fearfulness
tyn 27.32, **tyne** 60.02 v.; **tynis** 1.13 pres.; **tynt** 52.11 p. t., 118.14 p. p. to lose, perish
tynsale (*see* **tinsal**)
tyrane 122.16 n.; **tyrannis** 109.27, **tyrannys** 129.17 pl. tyrant, villain
tyrant 129.32, **tirant** 134.30 n.; **tyrantis** 129.19, **tyrauntis** 123.26 pl. tyrant

us 8.05 pron. us

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venial 41.05, veniall 6.14 adj. venial, as opposed to deadly
venome 48.20 n. venom
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veredite 16.29 n. greenness; viridity
veritable 35.25 adj. true, genuine
verite 4.07 n. verity, truth
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violacioun 125.31 n. violation
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visage 17.29 n. face
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visible 2.01 adj. visible
visibli 39.03 adv. visibly
visioun 157.21 n. a vision; something which is apparently seen otherwise than by ordinary sight
visis 60.27 pres. to guide, direct; to counsel
vle 21.24 n. oil
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vn to 83.36 prep. unto
vnccioun 6.15 n. unction; the sacrament of extreme unction
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vne 117.08 v.; **vnis** 20.10, **vnys** 20.16 pres.; **vnit** 19.05, **vnyt** 4.16 p. p. to unite
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vnseuerable 96.26 adj. not able to severed or separated [first reference in *OED*, 1579]
vnseueralie 63.33 adv. inseparably 'unseverably' in *OED*
vnxioun 24.18 n. unction; the sacrament of extreme unction
voluntar 26.04, **voluntare** 27.31 adj. voluntary [first reference in *OED*, 1581]
volupte 130.35 n. pleasure, delight
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vsis 12.05 pres.; **vsit** 121.08 p. t., 105.03 p. p.; **vsand** 48.25 pr. p. to use
vsurpe 129.11 v.; **vsurpis** 129.33 pres. to usurp, to claim or seize unjustly
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waik 146.38 v.; **waikis** 54.37 pres. to weaken, to become weaker
waiknes 74.26 n. weakness, deficiency in strength or power
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waknes 90.12 n. weakness
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walk 72.09 v.; **walknys** 60.01 pres.; **walknyt** 64.18 p. t. to waken, rouse
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wallit 140.22 ppl. adj. enclosed with a wall
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wand 37.29 n. stick
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waurld 6.33 n.; **waurldis** 148.28 pl. world [spelling not in *OED*]
waurldle 95.09, **waurldly** 6.23, **waurldlie** 159.10 adj. of or belonging to this world
way 1.27 n.; **wais** 50.32, **wayis** 40.16 pl. way
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weir 124.37 n. war
well 11.38 n. well
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wenomus 48.38 adj. venomous; pernicious
wer 136.25 n.; **weris** 125.37 pl. war
weralie 66.25, **weraly** 21.28 adv. verily, truly
werite 132.21 n. verity
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wertualy 10.09 adv. essentially
wertuis 20.06, **wertuus** 102.38 adj. virtuous
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wich 38.04 n. witch
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will 3.17 n. will
willaris 110.27 pl. one who desires; a wisher
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wn cristin 37.37, **wncristin** 80.34 adj. unchristian
wn to 47.26 prep. unto
wncertane 153.02 adj. uncertain, unsure, unreliable
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wndoune 60.36, **wndovne** 123.28 p. p. to ruin, destroy
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wnlefull 101.22 adj. illicit; not permissible
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wⁱ**thi** 82.32, **w**ⁱ **thi** 82.08, **w**ⁱ**þi** 66.31, **withy** 82.35 prep. provided (that)
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